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MEMOIR

OF THE LATE

CAPTAIN PETER HEYWOOD, R. N.

WITH EXTRACTS FROM

HIS DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE.

BY

EDWARD TAGART.

Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
—'Tis he whose law is reason; who depends
Upon that law as on the best of friends;——
Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honourable terms,——
And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
For wealth or honours, or for worldly state;—
—A soul whose master-bias leans
To homefelt pleasures and to gentle scenes.

WORDSWORTH.

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PREFACE.

THE word 'Memoir' is prefixed to this Volume only because the work appeared too long for a humbler title. Notices of Captain Heywood's life have already been laid before the public in Marshall's Naval Biography, in the United Service Journal for April 1831, and in the History of the Mutiny of the Bounty. Of these sources of information the author of this volume has freely availed himself; he trusts not in a manner for which this general acknowledgment will not be considered satisfactory. Having been favoured with the perusal of the family volume containing the transactions and correspondence which took place at the time of the trial, he had formed the design of drawing up a sketch of Captain Heywood's character and eventful history before the two last-mentioned writings appeared. That correspondence is of itself quite worthy of appearing in a detached form. Had there been no important additions to make to what was already before the public, two inducements to attempt this presented themselves to his mind;—one, to afford to many of his own friends a portion of the pleasure which he had himself experienced in his acquaint-

ance with the subject of this Memoir, combined with some particulars respecting him which they would probably never gain from any other source;—the other, to avail himself of the interest attached to Captain Heywood's life, and the respect very widely felt for his character, to draw attention to those religious views which certainly were a marked feature in that character, were mainly connected with his vigorous intellect and right feelings, and, in the author's opinion, are the only true foundation of that love to God and love to man which constitute the essence of the gospel.

Yet the author is sensible that he owes some apology to Captain Heywood's family, and to many respected friends, for venturing to set forth a work to which he cannot be qualified to do justice. With regard to Captain Heywood's merits as an officer, as a scientific, intelligent, and honourable member of the naval profession, he can merely repeat what has been already said of him, or gather a little from some very imperfect memoranda. His contemporaries in the service are probably aware that he manifested talents of a very superior order on various occasions, which do not appear in any writings respecting him, and which, if they did appear, the author of this volume, from his wholly different sphere of pursuit, would be incapable of properly appreciating.

Captain Heywood was among the first who paid particular attention to the use of Chronometers at sea, and aided in bringing that art to perfection. The arrangement of the signals at present in use in the English Navy is understood to have been indebted to him for some very beneficial suggestions. He constructed many valuable Charts of seas whose navigation was wholly unknown before he registered his observations. But perhaps his chief excellence as an officer was the activity and singleness of his attention to the duties of his station—his conscientiousness in their discharge—together with an entire freedom from ordinary weaknesses of character, from selfish ends and aims, which gave him an easy superiority in command, and invariably attached all around him to his person.

It was the author's chief wish to exhibit his character as a man. But for this also, his qualifications are feeble. Acquainted with him only a short time before his death, and that when his health was declining, how many traits of character must have escaped his knowledge! A great and good character, like one of nature's varied landscapes, may be admired at the first glance, but it requires to be seen in every variety of light and shade, to be again and again contemplated from one advantageous position and another, before all its value can be appreciated. How many scenes are there, that can never appear at first to the eye of the most ardent and tasteful

lover of the beautiful works of God with that deep and peculiar feeling of fond admiration, that comprehension of all their latent sources of interest and value, which time and familiarity have wrought for them in the heart of one who has been their companion from the rising to the going down of the sun,—who has watched their varying aspect in stillness and in storm! Captain Heywood's was no ordinary mind. With that reserve which is always more or less the accompaniment of self-respect, never obtruding *himself* on the attention, he had 'that within which passeth show.' He was one of those richly-endowed beings, with respect to whose minds every succeeding interview impresses upon you the conviction, that there is still many an undiscovered vein of valuable ore to become the prize of some further acquaintance.

While the author confesses these disqualifications, he will be happy to see his omissions supplied, his errors corrected, by others who have enjoyed superior opportunities. Aware that many of Captain Heywood's letters are in the possession of his friends, and that a large collection of them has been made, he has of course been often tempted to wish that he could have enriched his volume with more of Captain Heywood's correspondence. The author owns he has no reason to make the observation from experience;—but it is a difficult and delicate thing to apply as a stranger to strangers—more

especially when the purpose of the applicant might be viewed with a very doubtful eye. He has been checked, too, by the remembrance of Captain Heywood's peculiar modesty and reserve, his disinclination to have his name and sentiments paraded before the public eye—a disinclination sufficiently manifested by the fact that he destroyed a considerable number of manuscripts before his death, perhaps the only materials for a faithful representation of his whole mind.

To the Mutiny of the Bounty the author owes more than general acknowledgment. With a few verbal alterations, the general arrangement and connecting links of the correspondence which took place previous to the trial have been adopted from that volume. It appeared unnecessary to attempt an improvement. But in the course of transcription for the press, some passages have escaped that reference to their source which ought to have been observed, particularly the introduction of the quotation from Lord Byron, with the preceding remarks in the narration of the shipwreck of the Pandora, which appeared too apt to be torn from their association; and the observations on Christian's motives for detaining Heywood, with the note, pp. 150—152. Yet in this part of the Memoir some additions have been made to the correspondence from that family volume to which the historian of the Mutiny of the Bounty acknowledges his obligations.

The author has only to add, that for the appearance of this volume and its contents he alone is responsible. The diaries, from which some extracts are given, were entrusted to his hands by Mrs. Heywood out of regard to the interest which that lady knew the author to feel in Captain Heywood's memory, and to enable him to see better what Captain Heywood was, but without any view to publication. Upon himself, therefore, must entirely rest the blame, if there be any, arising from their appearance. He has endeavoured to avoid every thing which could apply otherwise than pleasantly to any living individual. To have done otherwise would have been injustice to Captain Heywood's memory as well as to the parties concerned.

He hopes that, although he may not have been successful in giving a perfect picture of this beloved and respected man, there may yet be found in this volume a sufficiently rude outline of his life and character to render it not unworthy the occasional contemplation of those who knew and loved him best. 'Passing sweet are the domains of tender memory;' and in these domains no spots are sweeter than the haunts of departed worth—the spots where we can meet and converse again with the honoured and virtuous dead.

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ERRATA.

P. 94, line 12, for "sed tout," read *set taut.*

P. 288, line 3 of note, for "meeting," read *mutiny.*

MEMOIR.

CHAPTER I.

PETER HEYWOOD, the fourth son of Peter John Heywood, Esq., was born at the Nunnery, near Douglas, on the 6th of June, 1773. His father was a Deemster of the Isle of Man, and Seneschal to his Grace the Duke of Athol.

No particulars of his early years have reached us, except that he was educated by the Rev. Mr. Hunter, at Nantwich. Were it possible to trace the history of his boyish days, there is every thing in his subsequent life to inspire the belief, that he would be found honourably distinguished among his compeers by various traits of superior talent and generous disposition.

At the early age of fifteen, he entered the Naval Service, on the 11th of October, 1786. Even at that age he was the object, not only of the warmest affection, but of the entire confidence and unqualified esteem of his family. In the words of a beloved sister, who will shortly be introduced to the reader's acquaintance, "Nothing but conviction from his own mouth could possibly persuade her,

that he would commit an action inconsistent with honour and duty." It is certain that his behaviour and letters, under the extraordinary and awful scenes of suffering which awaited him on his very entrance into life, display a strength and nobleness of soul to which no epitaph can do justice;—which must reflect great credit upon his domestic training, and, without other evidence, attract our respect towards that family of which he was a member. Indeed, his conduct and sentiments, whilst he was yet a boy, exhibit a spirit so rare and extraordinary, as almost to justify the conviction, that the natures of some human beings are of a superior quality, setting them at once above the common level of their species—that, in the language of the great poet of human nature, "they are born great,"—and that circumstances are but the occasions of developing this native greatness—this inherent dignity, which attaches to them from the cradle to the grave.

Peter Heywood made his first voyage as a Midshipman in the Bounty, a ship of about two hundred and fifty tons' burthen, which had been fitted up by government, under the care of Sir Joseph Bankes, for the purpose of conveying the Bread Fruit and other plants from Otaheite to the West Indies. This was done in consequence of the representations of the merchants and planters, that essential benefit would be derived from their introduction into the West-Indian colonies.

On the 23d of December, 1787, the Bounty sailed from Spithead, under the command of Lieutenant William Bligh. The melancholy issue of the voyage is very generally known. For the details of its history, the character of Bligh, and the circumstances which sowed the seeds of discord between the crew and their commander, the reader may be referred to the twenty-fifth number of the Family Library, and Marshall's Naval Biography. It suffices here to mention, that, after a hazardous and unsuccessful attempt to sail round Cape Horn, the Bounty turned away towards the Cape of Good Hope, touched in Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land, August the 20th, 1788, and anchored in Matavia Bay, October 26th, where she remained six months. The vessel was on her way home, laden with bread fruit and other plants, in flourishing condition, having so far fulfilled the object of her voyage, when between the hours of 4 and 8, A. M., on the 28th of April, 1789, the unhappy catastrophe, fraught with so many terrible consequences, took place.

Mr. Christian, the master's mate, who, in consequence of his skill as a seaman, had been doing lieutenant's duty the greater part of the voyage, was called at the appointed hour to relieve the watch. His mind had been deeply wounded by some angry and insulting words that had fallen from his commander in a dispute two days before; and it appears that he had formed the design of quitting the

ship the first opportunity, having prepared with that view a stout plank and staves for a raft, determined at all risks to commit himself to the waves. When he came on deck to take the command of the watch, he found the two midshipmen, who were mates of the watch, Hayward and Hallet, asleep. Relying on the disaffection of many of the crew, he instantly changed his purpose of quitting, into the far more daring one of seizing the ship. Under pretence of wanting to shoot a shark, he obtained the keys of the arm chest from the gunner, and, placing arms in the hands of those whom he could trust, he effected his purpose without resistance and without delay. Lieutenant Bligh and eighteen innocent companions were cast adrift in the launch, a boat scarcely large enough to sustain the burthen; with such scanty provisions as the compassion of the more tender-hearted part of the crew supplied, and opportunity enabled them to throw into the boat. To the astonishment of all concerned, and of those, too, who read the interesting account of their sufferings in one of the most extraordinary voyages ever made, twelve out of the nineteen lived to reach their country and their homes.

Young Heywood, now in his sixteenth year, awoke from his sleep in the midst of these transactions. To his surprise, his eye was caught by the unusual sight of a seaman sitting on an arm-chest, with a drawn cutlass in his hand. In reply to his inquiries respecting the cause of it, he heard that the

ship had been taken from the captain, who was already confined, and was to be sent home a prisoner. Heywood then ran on deck, and in a stupor of amazement beheld the proceedings. For some minutes he stood uncertain whether to commit himself to what appeared to be certain death, by going with his lieutenant in the boat, or to remain in the ship; but, as was natural, he inclined to the latter. Upon the representation of a companion of the probable danger of remaining, he ran down to his berth to fetch some clothes, with a final resolution of accompanying the launch, when his companion, Mr. Stewart, and himself were forcibly kept below by one of the crew named Churchill, who presented a pistol at the breast of the first that attempted to mount. Thus Mr. P. Heywood, who had not yet completed his sixteenth year, and of whom Lieutenant Bligh declares, that previous to this time, "his conduct had always given him much pleasure and satisfaction," and upon whom it really appears, that his greatest hopes of suppressing the mutiny rested, was numbered with the guilty mutineers, "compelled, by circumstances over which he had no controul, to associate for a time with the misguided men who so grossly offended against the laws of their country."

Lieutenant Bligh, singularly preserved from a complication of dangers, landed at the Isle of Wight on the 14th of March, 1790. Soon after his arrival he published a Narrative of the Voyage and Mutiny,

in which every thing is naturally represented in the light most favourable to himself; and great allowance must surely be made for the colouring of a mind exasperated, by the remembrance of suffering, against the authors of his losses and disappointments, and of all the miseries which he and his companions endured. But, as the author of the History of the Mutiny justly observes, no excuse can be found for one who deeply and unfeelingly, without provocation and in cold blood, inflicts a wound on the heart of a widowed mother, already torn with anguish and tortured by suspense for a beloved son, whose life was in imminent jeopardy.

About the end of March, 1790, two months subsequent to the death of a most beloved and lamented husband, Mrs. Heywood received the afflicting information, but by report only, of a mutiny having taken place on board the Bounty. In that ship Mrs. Heywood's son had been serving as midshipman, who, when he left his home in August, 1787, was under fifteen years of age, a boy deservedly admired and beloved by all who knew him, and to his own family almost an object of adoration, for his superior understanding and the amiable qualities of his disposition. In a state of mind little short of distraction, on hearing this fatal intelligence, which was at the same time aggravated by every circumstance of guilt that calumny or malice could invent with respect to this unfortunate youth, who was said to be one of the ringleaders, and

to have gone armed into the captain's cabin, his mother addressed a letter to Captain Bligh, dictated by a mother's tenderness, and strongly expressive of the miseries she must necessarily feel on such an occasion. The following is Bligh's reply:

'*London, April* 2, 1790.

'MADAM,

'I received your letter this day, and feel for you very much, being perfectly sensible of the extreme distress your must suffer from the conduct of your son Peter. *His baseness is beyond all description*, but I hope you will endeavour to prevent the loss of him, heavy as the misfortune is, from afflicting you too severely. I imagine he is, with the rest of the mutineers, returned to Otaheite.

'I am, Madam,

(Signed) 'WM. BLIGH.'

Colonel Holwell, the uncle of young Heywood, had previously addressed Bligh on the same melancholy subject, to whom he returned the following answer:

'*March* 26, 1790.

'SIR,

'I have just this instant received your letter. With much concern I inform you that your nephew, Peter Heywood, is among the mutineers. *His ingratitude to me is of the blackest dye*, for I was a father to him in every respect, and he never once

had an angry word from me through the whole course of the voyage, as his conduct always gave me much pleasure and satisfaction. I very much regret *that so much baseness formed the character of a young man* I had a real regard for, and it will give me much pleasure to hear that his friends *can bear the loss of him without much concern.*

'I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) 'WM. BLIGH.'

'The only way of accounting for this ferocity of sentiment towards a youth, who had in point of fact no concern in the mutiny, is by a reference to certain points of evidence given by Hayward, Hallat, and Purcell on the court-martial, each point wholly unsupported. Those in the boat would no doubt, during their long passage, often discuss the conduct of their messmates left in the Bounty, and the unsupported evidence given by these three was well calculated to create in Bligh's mind a prejudice against young Heywood; yet, if so, it affords but a poor excuse for harrowing up the feelings of near and dear relatives.'

The following letters exhibit a very different spirit, but shew how dark was the view which even those most interested in young Heywood's favour took of his conduct and situation.

W. S. STANHOPE, *Esq.*, *to Capt.* SHUTTLEWORTH.

'*Grosvenor Square, April* 13, 1790.

'MY DEAR S.

'I have made all the inquiries I could respecting the ship Bounty and the circumstances of the late Mutiny.....

'With respect to young Heywood in particular, I have been able to learn nothing further than that, as he was not one of those who were sent off with Captain Bligh, he is presumed to be among the mutineers. The consequence of such a mutiny is very alarming, of which his friends appear to be very sensible;—but, on the other hand, the particular circumstances of this mutiny are unknown, the possibility that young Heywood may have had little to do with it, but have been kept on board on account of his youth, the possibility also of escape, and in case of the worst, there being, I believe, a senior officer to him on board in the same predicament, who is nearly related to a man in high office, are circumstances which may administer some little hope of comfort to his family in their present distressful state.'

His warmly-attached sister, Miss Nessy Heywood, with an ardour peculiarly her own, and with a pen that never rested in his service, from the first delayed not to make every inquiry respecting her brother. Her uncle, J. M. Heywood, Esq., thus replies to that young lady :

'*London, April* 14, 1790.

'DEAR MADAM,

'I should have given an earlier answer to the favour of your letter if I had not waited to see Lieut. Bligh. I yesterday had the good fortune to meet with him, when I obtained all the intelligence I could respecting your unfortunate brother. When I inquired what his behaviour and conduct had been previous to the arrival of the ship at Otaheite, he told me he had no reason to find any fault with him, but expressed his astonishment at his having been of the number of those who deserted, after having shewn him always great kindness and attention. I believe Mr. Bligh and the whole of the ship's crew, who came away with him, are unanimous in ascribing this horrid transaction to the attachments unfortunately formed to the women of Otaheite. He has no idea of any other, and believes that the plan of the mutiny had not been concerted many days before it was carried into execution. He particularly told me that your brother was not one of those who entered his cabin,—which circumstance gave me great satisfaction.....I have only to add that I sincerely sympathize in the sufferings of poor Mrs. Heywood and your whole family. It is happy for her that she is ignorant of the true cause of your brother's not returning;* and I hope she will ever remain so. As the unfortunate and uncommon

* Mr. Bligh's letter to Mrs. Heywood was concealed from her.

situation into which his strange conduct has thrown him, may prevent, for a length of time at least, his return to England, the only consolation I can hold out to you is, that when he does return, his general good conduct and character, previous to this unhappy business, may, with some allowance for the unbridled passions of youth, plead for his pardon. *You must have the philosophy at present to consider him as lost for ever.* But I trust that Providence will restore him to you, and enable him by his future good behaviour to make atonement to his country, and to those shipmates who have suffered such extreme hardships, and so narrowly escaped death. With my best wishes to all your family,

'I remain, my dear Madam,

'Your most faithful, humble servant,

'J. M. H.'

The following letter from Mr. Hallet, one of the midshipmen, who came home with Lieutenant Bligh, though dated somewhat later, may be placed here to shew how the feelings of the Heywood family were harassed by the worst views of Peter's conduct.

Mr. HALLET *to Miss* N. HEYWOOD.

'*Loch Ryan, 29th March*, 1792.

'MADAM,

'Your affecting letter of the 15th February did not come to hand till the 15th of this month, which

I take the earliest opportunity of answering, and assure you that I sympathize strongly in your grief, and will, as far as in me lies, answer your different interrogations. I shall begin with saying, that before the unfortunate period at which the mutiny in the Bounty took place, the conduct of your brother was such as to have procured him our universal esteem. But what were the unpropitious motives by which he was induced *to side with the criminal party*, I am totally ignorant of, nor can I (as you may readily conceive it was a time of great confusion among us) declare positively the part he acted in it. Should I ever be called upon to give my evidence, which you must be sensible will be a distressing thing for a person to give against those with whom he had formerly lived in habits of intimacy, notwithstanding the friendship I had for your brother, I shall be strictly bound by oath to adhere to truth, though I hope, if ever a trial should take place, that the consideration of his youth, at the time he committed the rash act, which might, as has too frequently been the case, lay him open to be led away with wrong notions by those who had arrived at more mature years, will plead with the jury in his favour.

'I am, Madam,

'Your most obedient, humble servant,

'J. HALLET.'

'His Majesty's government were no sooner made

acquainted with the atrocious act of piracy and mutiny, than it determined to adopt every possible means to apprehend and bring to condign punishment the perpetrators of so foul a deed. For this purpose the Pandora frigate, of twenty-four guns, and one hundred and sixty men, was despatched, under the command of Captain Edward Edwards, with orders to proceed, in the first instance, to Otaheite, and not finding the mutineers there, to visit the different groups of the Society and Friendly Islands, and others in the neighbouring parts of the Pacific, using his best endeavours to seize and bring home in confinement the whole or such part of the delinquents as he might be able to discover.'*

On the 23d of March, 1791, just eighteen months after the Bounty's last departure from Matavia Bay, the Pandora arrived there in search of that ill-fated ship. Scarcely had she anchored when Messrs. Heywood and Stewart paddled off in a canoe, and made themselves known to her commander, who instantly ordered them to be put both legs in irons, and treated them as though they had been 'piratical villains,' as he then thought proper to designate them;—a sufficient proof that Lieutenant Bligh, when reporting the loss of his ship, had made no discrimination between the innocent and the guilty.

The other survivors of the Bounty, twelve in number, who were then at Otaheite, being shortly

* Mutiny of the Bounty.

after collected from different parts of the island, handcuffs were made and fitted to the wrists of the whole party; and a sort of prison, appropriately styled Pandora's Box, being only eleven feet in length, was built upon the after-quarter of the deck, in order that they might be kept separate from the crew, and the more effectually prevented from having any communication with the natives. Such of those friendly creatures as ventured to look pitifully towards them, were instantly turned out of the ship, and never again allowed to come on board. Two sentinels were kept constantly upon the roof of the prison, with orders to shoot the first of its inmates who should attempt to address another in the Otaheitian dialect. A midshipman was stationed in front of the bulk-head, through which the only air admitted found its way by two iron gratings, each about nine inches square. The master-at-arms received directions not to converse with the prisoners on any other subject than that of their provisions. Spare hammocks supplied the place of beds until they became crowded with vermin, after which the sufferers were obliged to sleep on the bare deck. The heat of the prison, during calm weather, was so intense that the perspiration ran in streams from their bodies; and to add to their misery, they were incessantly assailed by the effluvia proceeding from two tubs placed near them. In short, nothing was wanting to render their situation truly deplorable.

From Otaheite the Pandora proceeded to the westward, cruising among the different islands in her route, but without gaining any intelligence of the Bounty. During this search she lost a midshipman, and several men who were blown out to sea, when returning from Palmerston's Isles in the jolly boat, and thereby exposed to a lingering death, through hunger. The schooner which had been built by the Bounty's people, and commissioned as a tender by Captain Edwards, also parted company in a gale of wind; but after encountering many dangers, succeeded in reaching the island of Java.

'The Pandora arrived on the 29th of August on the coast of New Holland, and close to that extraordinary reef of coral rocks, called the 'Barrier Reef,' which runs along the greater part of the eastern coast, but at a considerable distance from it. Her second lieutenant was immediately sent to ascertain if any opening existed through which she could pass. At 5 P.M. he made a signal in the affirmative, but Captain Edwards wishing to be well informed on the subject, continued lying too until 7 o'clock, by which time the current had set the ship so near to the reef, that soundings were obtained with fifty fathoms of line, although no bottom could previously be found with more than double that quantity. The main-yard was then braced up, in order to stand off; but before the courses could be set, she struck with great violence upon a patch of coral, and almost instantly bilged.

The sails were scarcely furled, and boats hoisted out, when the carpenter reported that she had nine feet water in the hold.

'Three of the Bounty's people, Coleman, Norman, and M'Intosh, were now let out of irons, and sent to work at the pumps. The others offered their assistance, and begged to be allowed a chance of saving their lives; instead of which, two additional sentinels were placed over them, with orders to shoot any who should attempt to get rid of their fetters. Seeing no prospect of escape, they betook themselves to prayer, and prepared to meet their fate, every one expecting that the ship would soon go to pieces, her rudder and part of the stern-post being already beat away.

'About ten o'clock, however, she beat over the reef, and was brought to an anchor in fifteen fathoms water. At this dreadful crisis, the wind blowing very strong, and the ship surrounded by rocks and shoals, all the people who could be spared from the pumps were employed thrumbing a sail to fodder her bottom; but this scheme was soon abandoned in consequence of one of the chain pumps giving way, and the water gaining rapidly upon the other, which rendered it necessary for every person to bale at the hatchways in order that she might be kept afloat till day-light. Whilst thus engaged, one man was crushed to death by a gun breaking loose, and another killed by a spar falling from the skids into the waist. All the boats excepting one, were in

the mean time kept at a distance from the ship on account of the broken water, and the high surf running near her.

'About half an hour before day-break, a consultation was held among the officers, who were unanimously of opinion that nothing more could be done to save the ship, and that every effort should be directed towards the preservation of the crew. Spars, hen-coops, and every thing buoyant, were accordingly thrown overboard to afford them support till the boats could come to their aid; but no notice was taken of the prisoners, although Captain Edwards was entreated by Mr. Heywood to have mercy upon them, when he passed over their prison to make his own escape, the ship then lying on her broadside, with the larboard bow completely under water. Fortunately, the master-at-arms, either by accident or design, when slipping from the roof of "Pandora's Box" into the sea, let the keys of the irons fall through the scuttle or entrance, which he had just before opened, and thus enabled them to commence their own liberation, in which they were generously assisted, at the imminent risk of his own life, by William Moulter, a boatswain's mate, who clung to the coamings, and pulled the long bars through the shackles, saying he would set them free, or go to the bottom with them.

'Scarcely was this effected when the ship went down, leaving nothing visible but the top-mast cross-trees. The master-at-arms and all the sen-

tinels sunk to rise no more. The cries of them and the other drowning men were awful in the extreme; and more than half an hour had elapsed before the survivors could be taken up by the boats. Among the former were Mr. Stewart, John Sumner, Richard Skinner, and Henry Hillbrant, the whole of whom perished with their hands still in manacles.

'On this melancholy occasion, Mr. Heywood was the last person but three who escaped from the prison, into which the water had already found its way through the bulk-head scuttles. Jumping overboard, he seized a plank, and was swimming towards a small sandy quay (key) about three miles distant, when a boat picked him up, and conveyed him thither in a state of nudity. It is worthy of remark, that James Morrison endeavoured to follow his young companion's example, and, although handcuffed, managed to keep afloat until a boat came to his assistance.

'This account would appear almost incredible. It is true, men are sometimes found to act the part of inhuman monsters, but then they are generally actuated by some motive or extraordinary excitement; here, however, there was neither; but on the contrary, the condition of the poor prisoners appealed most forcibly to the mercy and humanity of their jailor. The surgeon of the ship states, in his account of her loss, that as soon as the spars, booms, hen-coops, and other buoyant articles, were cut loose, " the prisoners were ordered to be let out of

irons." One would imagine, indeed, that the officers on this dreadful emergency would not be witness to such inhumanity, without remonstrating effectually against keeping those unfortunate men confined a moment beyond the period when it became evident that the ship must sink. It will be seen, however, presently, from Mr. Heywood's own statement, that they were so kept, and that the brutal and unfeeling conduct which has been imputed to Captain Edwards is but too true.

'It is an awful moment when a ship takes her last heel, just before going down. When the Pandora sunk, the surgeon says, "the crew had just time to leap overboard, accompanying it with a most dreadful yell. The cries of the men drowning in the water was at first awful in the extreme; but as they sunk and became faint, they died away by degrees." How accurately has Byron described the whole progress of a shipwreck to the final catastrophe! He might have been a spectator of the Pandora, at the moment of her foundering, when

'She gave a heel, and then a lurch to port,
And, going down head foremost—sunk. . . . .
Then rose from sea to sky the wild farewell!
Then shriek'd the timid and stood still the brave;
Then some leap'd overboard with dreadful yell,
As eager to anticipate their grave;
And the sea yawn'd around her like a hell,
And down she suck'd with her the whirling wave,
Like one who grapples with his enemy,
And strives to strangle him before he die.

And first one universal shriek there rush'd
  Louder than the loud ocean, like a crash
Of echoing thunder; and then all was hush'd,
  Save the wild wind and the remorseless dash
Of billows; but at intervals there gush'd,
  Accompanied with a convulsive splash,
A solitary shriek—the bubbling cry
Of some strong swimmer in his agony.'

The survivors being all assembled on a sandy key, only ninety yards long and sixty wide, it was found that thirty-nine men, including the above, had met with a watery grave. The only articles of provision saved from the wreck were three bags of biscuit, a small keg of wine, and several barracoes of water: the number of persons to subsist thereon was ninety-nine, and the distance they had to proceed in four open boats, before a fresh supply could be hoped for, at least 1100 miles. Thus circumstanced, the strictest economy became necessary, and orders were accordingly given that only two ounces of bread and one gill of wine, and the same quantity of water, should be served to each man, once in twenty-four hours. The weight of the bread was accurately ascertained by a musket-ball and a pair of wooden scales made for each boat.

The boats' sails were now converted into tents for the Pandora's crew, most of whom had landed in a very exhausted state, and required a little rest previous to their departure. The prisoners, however, were kept at a distance from them without the least covering to protect their naked bodies

from a vertical sun by day, and the chilling effect of heavy dews at night. A spare sail, which was lying useless in the key, being refused them by Captain Edwards, they tried the experiment of burying themselves neck deep in the sand, which caused the skin to blister and peel off from head to foot, as though they had been immersed in scalding water. The excruciating torture which they suffered from thirst, aggravated as it had been by involuntarily swallowing salt water, whilst swimming from the wreck, was, if possible, increased by the sight of rain and their total inability to catch any of it. Exposed in this manner to alternate heat and cold in the latitude of 11° S., some conception may be formed of their sufferings, but words will be found wanting to describe them.

The damages sustained by one of their boats having been repaired, and such other preparations made for the voyage as circumstances would admit, the whole party embarked on the 31st of August, and proceeded towards the island of Timor, which they saw on the 13th of the following month. In a miserable condition they arrived at the fort of Coupang on the night of the 15th of September. Whilst there, Mr. Heywood and the other thirteen prisoners were closely confined in the castle, but although for several days treated with great rigour by their Dutch gaolers, they do not at any time appear to have suffered so many privations at once, as when in the sole custody of a British captain.

Having remained here three weeks, they embarked on the 6th of October in the Rembaug, a Dutch Indiaman, and on the 30th anchored at Samarang. On the 7th of November they arrived at Batavia, after a very dangerous passage of thirty-three days, during which the ship was twice nearly driven on shore, and proved so leaky as to render it necessary for every person on board to work at the pumps,—a species of liberty which the prisoners were allowed to enjoy until their strength entirely failed them, when they were again placed in irons, and suffered to rest their weary limbs on an old sail, alternately soaked with rain, salt water, and the drainings of a pig-stye, under which it was spread.

At Batavia, Captain Edwards distributed the purchase-money of the schooner among his people, in order that they might furnish themselves with nankeen apparel: and the prisoners, having their hands at liberty, availed themselves of this opportunity to obtain some articles of clothing by making straw hats for sale, and acting as tailors for those who had become comparatively rich by the produce of their labour as shipwrights. It was in a suit thus purchased that Mr. Heywood arrived at Spithead, after an absence of four years and a half, all but four days.

At Batavia, Heywood availed himself of the first opportunity to write to his mother. The following letter was sent off by one of the Pandora's men, who was to sail in the first ship. It breathes a spirit

of manly fortitude and resignation, and shews that his mind had attained no common strength. The charges of ingratitude, mutiny, and desertion, under which he knew himself to be suffering, were sufficient of themselves to shake the strongest nerves; and the patience and fortitude evinced by him at that early period of life, excited the just admiration of his family and friends. But the uses of adversity, in a form, too, that would have crushed a weaker frame either of body or of mind, had been already sweet to him. His tender youth passed through these, and even more appalling scenes, not only unscathed, but rising superior to difficulties, as if the enmity of fate had no power to disturb an equanimity and rectitude of feeling which philosophy and religion aspire, too often in vain, to teach; or rather, as if a chastening but protecting Providence had addressed him with the words, 'My son, give me thine heart,' and had designed to shew in him how well that voice could be obeyed.

'*Batavia, November 20th*, 1791.

'MY EVER-HONOURED AND DEAREST MOTHER,

'At length the time has arrived when you are once more to hear from your ill-fated son, whose conduct, at the capture of that ship in which it was my fortune to embark, has, I fear, from what has since happened to me, been grossly misrepresented to you by Lieutenant Bligh, who, by not knowing the real cause of my remaining on board, naturally

suspected me, unhappily for me, to be a coadjutor in the mutiny; but I never, to my knowledge, whilst under his command, behaved myself in a manner unbecoming the station I occupied, nor so much as even entertained a thought derogatory to his honour, so as to give him the least grounds for entertaining an opinion of me so ungenerous and undeserved; for I flatter myself he cannor give a character of my conduct, whilst I was under his tuition, that could merit the slightest scrutiny. Oh! my dearest mother, I hope you have not so easily credited such an account of me; do but let me vindicate my conduct, and declare to you the true cause of my remaining in the ship, and you will then see how little I deserve censure, and how I have been injured by so gross an aspersion. I shall then give you a short and cursory account of what has happened to me since; but I am afraid to say a hundredth part of what I have got in store, for I am not allowed the use of writing materials, if known, so that this is done by stealth; but if it should ever come to your hands it will, I hope, have the desired effect of removing your uneasiness on my account, when I assure you, before the face of God, of my innocence of what is laid to my charge. How I came to remain on board was thus:

'The morning the ship was taken, it being my watch below, happening to awake just after daylight, and looking out of my hammock, I saw a man sitting upon the arm-chest in the main hatchway,

with a drawn cutlas in his hand, the reason of which I could not divine; so I got out of bed and inquired of him what was the cause of it. He told me that Mr. Christian, assisted by some of the ship's company, had seized the captain and put him in confinement; had taken the command of the ship and meant to carry Bligh home a prisoner, in order to try him by court-martial, for his long tyrannical and oppressive conduct to his people. I was quite thunderstruck; and hurrying into my berth again, told one of my messmates, whom I awakened out of his sleep, what had happened. Then dressing myself, I went up the fore-hatchway, and saw what he had told me was but too true; and again I asked some of the people, who were under arms, what was going to be done with the captain, who was then on the larboard side of the quarter-deck, with his hands tied behind his back, and Mr. Christian alongside him with a pistol and drawn bayonet. I now heard a very different story, and that the captain was to be sent ashore to Tofoa in the launch, and that those who would not join Mr. Christian, might either accompany the captain, or would be taken in irons to Otaheite and left there. The relation of two stories so different, left me unable to judge which could be the true one; but seeing them hoisting the boats out, it seemed to prove the latter.

'In this trying situation, young and inexperienced as I was, and without an adviser, (every person being as it were infatuated, and not knowing what

to do,) I remained for awhile a silent spectator of what was going on; and after revolving the matter in my mind, I determined to choose what I thought the lesser of two evils and stay by the ship; for I knew that those who went on shore, in the launch, would be put to death by the savage natives, whereas the Otaheitans being a humane and generous race, one might have a hope of being kindly received, and remain there until the arrival of some ship, which seemed, to silly me, the most consistent with reason and rectitude.

'While this resolution possessed my mind, at the same time lending my assistance to hoist out the boats, the hurry and confusion affairs were in, and thinking my intention just, I never thought of going to Mr. Bligh for advice; besides, what confirmed me in it was, my seeing two experienced officers, when ordered into the boat by Mr. Christian, desire his permission to remain in the ship, (one of whom, my own messmate, Mr. Hayward,) and I being assisting to clear the launch of yams, he asked me what I intended to do. I told him, to remain in the ship. Now this answer, I imagine, he has told Mr. Bligh I made to him; from which, together with my not speaking to him that morning, his suspicions of me have arisen, construing my conduct into what is foreign to my nature.

'Thus, my dearest mother, it was all owing to my youth and unadvised inexperience, but has been interpreted into villany and disregard of my coun-

try's laws, the ill effects of which I at present, and still am to, labour under for some months longer. And now, after what I have asserted, I may still once more retrieve my injured reputation, be again reinstated in the affection and favour of the most tender of mothers, and be still considered as her ever dutiful son.

'How it grieves me to think I must be so explicit when I have such a burthen to go on with! but necessity obliges me. However, to continue my relation:

'I was not undeceived in my erroneous decision till too late, which was after the captain was in the launch; for while I was talking to the master-at-arms, one of the ringleaders in the affair, my other messmate whom I had left in his hammock in the berth, (Mr. Stewart,) came up to me, and asked me, if I was not going in the launch. I replied, No—upon which he told me not to think of such a thing as remaining behind, but take his advice and go down below with him to get a few necessary things, and make haste to go with him into the launch; adding that, by remaining in the ship, I should incur an equal share of guilt with the mutineers themselves; upon which he and the master-at-arms had some altercation about my messmate's intention of going into the boat. I reluctantly followed his advice—I say *reluctantly*, because I knew no better, and was foolish; and the boat swimming very deep in the water—the land being far distant—the thoughts

of being sacrificed by the natives—and the self-consciousness of my first intention being just—all these considerations almost staggered my resolution; however, I preferred my companion's judgment to my own, and we both jumped down the main-hatchway to prepare ourselves for the boat—but no sooner were we in the berth than the master-at-arms ordered the sentry to keep us both in the berth till he should receive orders to release us. We desired the master-at-arms to acquaint Mr. Bligh of our detention, which we had reason to think he never did, nor were we permitted to come on deck until the launch was a long way astern. I now, when too late, saw my error.

'At the latter end of May we got to an island to the southward of Taheité, called Toobouai, where they intended to make a settlement, but finding no stock there of any kind, they agreed to go to Taheité, and, after procuring hogs and fowls, to return to Toobouai and remain. So, on the 6th June, we arrived at Taheité, where I was in hopes I might find an opportunity of running away, and remaining on shore; but I could not effect it, as there was always too good a look-out kept to prevent any such steps being taken. And besides, they had all sworn that should any one make his escape, they would force the natives to restore him, and would then shoot him as an example to the rest; well knowing that any one by remaining there might be the means (should a ship arrive) of discovering their place of

abode. Finding it therefore impracticable, I saw no other alternative but to rest as content as possible and return to Toobouai, and there wait till the masts of the Bounty should be taken out, and then take the boat, which might carry me to Taheité, and disable those remaining from pursuit.* But Providence so ordered it, that we had no occasion to try our fortune at such a hazard, for, upon returning there and remaining till the latter end of August, in which time a fort was almost built, but nothing could be effected; and as the natives could not be brought to friendly terms, and with whom we had many skirmishes, and narrow escapes from being cut off by them, and, what was still worse, internal broils and discontent,—these things determined part of the people to leave the island and go to Taheité, which was carried by a majority of votes.

'This being carried into execution on the 22d September, and having anchored in Matavai bay, the next morning my messmate (Mr. Stewart) and I went on shore, to the house of an old landed proprietor, our former friend; and being now set free from a lawless crew, determined to remain as much apart from them as possible, and wait patiently for the arrival of a ship. Fourteen more of the Bounty's people came likewise on shore, and Mr. Christian

* 'Morrison mentions, in his Journal, a plan to this effect, contrived by Heywood, Stewart, and himself, but observes, "it was a foolish attempt, as, had we met with bad weather, our crazy boat would certainly have made us a coffin."'

and eight men went away with the ship, but God knows whither. Whilst we remained here, we were treated by our kind and friendly natives with a generosity and humanity almost unparalleled, and such as we could hardly have expected from the most civilized people.

'To be brief—having remained here till the latter end of March, 1791, on the 26th of that month his Majesty's ship Pandora arrived, and had scarcely anchored, when my messmate and I went on board and made ourselves known; and having learnt from one of the natives who had been off in a canoe, that our former messmate, Mr. Hayward, now promoted to the rank of lieutenant, was on board, we asked for him, supposing he might prove the assertions of our innocence. But he (like all worldlings when raised a little in life) received us very coolly, and pretended ignorance of our affairs; yet formerly he and I were bound in brotherly love and friendship. Appearances being so much against us, we were ordered to be put in irons, and looked upon—oh, infernal words!—as *piratical villains*. A rebuff so severe as this was, to a person unused to troubles, would, perhaps, have been insupportable; but to me, who had now been long inured to the frowns of fortune, and feeling myself supported by an inward consciousness of not deserving it, it was received with the greatest composure, and a full determination to bear it with patience; ascribing it to the corrective hand of an All-gracious Providence, and

fully convinced that adversity is the lot of man, sent to wean him from these transient scenes, and fix his hopes on joys more permanent, lest, by a too long round of good fortune, he should forget the frailty of his nature, and the existence of a Supreme Omnipotent Being.

'Had my confinement been my only misfortune, I would patiently have resigned myself to it. But one evil seldom comes unaccompanied. Alas! I was informed of the death of the most indulgent of fathers, which I naturally supposed to have been hastened by Mr. Bligh's ungenerous conduct. This thought made me truly wretched. I had certainly been overpowered by my grief had not Mr. Hayward again assured me, that he had paid the debt of nature before the news of the Bounty's fate arrived in England, and that he had the news by letter from my best-beloved Nessy, which made me somewhat easier, and I endeavoured to bear it as I ought. Yet I have still my fears on my dear mother's account, lest such an account of me, when added to her recent affliction, might overpower her spirits and constitution, and make her grief too poignant and burdensome for life. But may God of his infinite mercy have ordered otherwise! and that this may find you, and all my brothers and sisters, as well as I could wish, and have the desired effect of rooting in you a belief of my innocence, and eradicate your displeasure, the thought of which makes me most unhappy.

'My sufferings, however, I have not power to describe; but though they are great, yet I thank God for enabling me to bear them without repining. I endeavour to qualify my affliction with these three considerations; first, my innocence not deserving them; secondly, that they cannot last long; and thirdly, that the change may be for the better. The first improves my hopes; the second my patience; and the third my courage. I am young in years, but old in what the world calls adversity; and it has had such an effect, as to make me consider it the most beneficial incident that could have occurred at my age. It has made me acquainted with three things which are little known, and as little believed by any but those who have felt their effects: first, the villany and censoriousness of mankind; secondly, the futility of all human hopes; and thirdly, the happiness of being content in whatever station it may please Providence to place me. In short, it has made me more of a philosopher than many years of a life spent in ease and pleasure would have done.

'Should you receive this, do assure my much-respected friend, Mr. Betham, of my innocence of the crime laid to my charge. His disinterested kindness to me is deeply rooted in my mind. Make him acquainted with the reason of my remaining in the ship.' Perhaps his assistance in interceding with his son-in-law, Mr. Bligh, in my behalf, might undeceive him in his groundless

opinion of me, and prevent his proceeding to great lengths against me at my approaching trial. If you should likewise apply to my uncle Pasley, and Mr. Heywood, of Plymouth, their timely aid might be the means of rescuing me from an ignominious lot.

'As they will no doubt proceed to the greatest lengths against me, I being the only surviving officer, and they most inclined to believe a prior story, all that can be said to confute it will probably be looked upon as mere falsity and invention. Should that be my unhappy case, and they resolved upon my destruction as an example to futurity, may God enable me to bear my fate with the fortitude of a man, conscious that misfortune, not any misconduct, is the cause, and that the Almighty can attest my innocence. Yet why should I despond? I have, I hope, still a friend in that Providence which hath preserved me amidst many greater dangers, and upon whom alone I now depend for safety. God will always protect those who deserve it. These are the sole considerations which have enabled me to make myself easy and content under my past misfortunes—the relation of which I shall now continue.

'Twelve more of the people who were at Otaheite having delivered themselves up, there was a sort of prison built on the after-part of the quarter-deck, into which we were all put in close confinement, with both legs and both hands in irons, and

were treated with great rigour, not being allowed ever to get out of this den; and, being obliged to eat, drink, sleep, and obey the calls of nature here, you may form some idea of the disagreeable situation I must have been in, unable as I was to help myself, (being deprived of the use of both my legs and hands,) but by no means adequate to the reality.

'On the 9th May, we left Otaheite, and proceeded to the neighbourhood of the Friendly Islands, where we cruised about six weeks in search of the Bounty, but without success, in which time we were so unfortunate as to lose a small cutter and five hands. About the beginning of August we got in among the reefs of New Holland, to endeavour to discover a passage through them; but it was not effected; for the Pandora, ever unlucky, and as if devoted by heaven to destruction, was driven by a current upon the patch of a reef, and on which, there being a heavy surf, she was soon almost bulged to pieces; but having thrown all the guns on one side overboard, and the tide flowing at the same time, she beat over the reef into a basin and brought up in fourteen or fifteen fathoms; but she was so much damaged while on the reef, that imagining she would go to pieces every moment, we had contrived to wrench ourselves out of our irons, and applied to the captain to have mercy on us, and suffer us to take our chance for the preservation of our lives. But it was all in vain—he

was even so inhuman as to order us all to be put in irons again, though the ship was expected to go down every moment, being scarcely able to keep her under with all the pumps at work.

'In this miserable situation, with an expected death before our eyes, without the least hope of relief, and in the most trying state of suspense, we spent the night, the ship being by the hand of Providence kept up till the morning. The boats by this time had all been prepared; and as the captain and officers were coming upon the poop or roof of our prison, to abandon the ship, the water being then up to the combings of the hatchways, we again implored his mercy; upon which he sent the corporal and an armourer down to let some of us out of irons, but three only were suffered to go up, and the scuttle being then clapped on, and the master-at-arms upon it, the armourer had only time to let two persons out of irons, the rest, except three, letting themselves out; two of these three went down with them on their hands, and the third was picked up. She now began to heel over to port so very much, that the master-at-arms sliding overboard, and leaving the scuttle vacant, we all tried to get up, and I was the last out but three. The water was then pouring in at the bulk-head scuttles, yet I succeeded in getting out, and was scarcely in the sea when I could see nothing above it but the cross trees, and nothing around me but a scene of the greatest distress. I took a plank (being

stark-naked) and swam towards an island about three miles off, but was picked up on my passage by one of the boats. When we got ashore to the small sandy key, we found there were thirty-four men drowned, four of whom were prisoners, and among these was my unfortunate mess-mate (Mr. Stewart); ten of us, and eighty-nine of the Pandora's crew, were saved.

'When a survey was made of what provisions had been saved, they were found to consist of two or three bags of bread, two or three breakers of water, and a little wine; so we subsisted three days upon two wine-glasses of water, and two ounces of bread per day. On the 1st September we left the island, and on the 16th arrived at Coupang, in the island of Timor, having been on short allowance eighteen days. We were put in confinement in the castle, where we remained till October, and on the 5th of that month were sent on board a Dutch ship bound for Batavia.

'After a very tedious and dangerous passage, the ship being twice near drove ashore, and so very leaky as to be scarce kept above water with both pumps constantly going, on the 30th we anchored at Samarang, in the isle of Java, and on Monday, the 7th, anchored here at Batavia. I send this by the first ship, which is to sail in about a week, by one of the Pandora's men. We are to follow in a week after, and expect to be in England in about seven months.'

'Though I have been eight months in close confinement in a hot climate, I have kept my health in a most surprising manner, without the least indisposition, and am still perfectly well in every respect, in mind as well as body; but without a friend, and only a shirt and pair of trousers to put on, and carry me home. Yet with all this I have a contented mind, entirely resigned to the will of Providence, which conduct alone enables me to soar above the reach of unhappiness. You will most probably hear of my arrival in England (should it ever happen) before I can write to you, which I most earnestly long for, that I may explain things which I now cannot mention; yet I hope this will be sufficient to undeceive those who have been so ungenerous as to express, and others who have been so credulous as to believe, all that is laid to my charge. I can say no more, but remember me to my dearest brothers and sisters, &c., and believe me still to be

'Your most dutiful and ever obedient son,

'PETER HEYWOOD.'

Before this interesting narrative reached his home, various were the thoughts and fears, and various the rumours and opinions, respecting poor Heywood's fate and conduct, which harassed his afflicted family.

'I hear,' says Mr. J. M. Heywood, in a letter to Miss N. Heywood, dated May 12, 1792, 'that your brother will probably return in the Crown man-of-

war, and you may be assured that I will pay every attention to his situation as soon as I am informed of his arrival. The circumstance of his having swam to the Pandora, will, I trust, be strong in his favour, and make his conduct appear in a much better light than that of the other young men who were so unfortunate as to remain on board the Bounty when Mr. Bligh was so ill-treated.

Miss N. HEYWOOD *to* J. M. HEYWOOD, *Esq.*

'*Isle of Man, June* 3, 1792.

'I will not attempt, my dear Sir, to express the gratitude at this moment felt by myself and every one of our family for your most friendly letter, and the generous promise it contains of support and protection to my most dear and unfortunate brother.

'The occasion of my again troubling you on the subject is a letter I yesterday received from the father of Mr. Thomas Hayward (one of the midshipmen who came with Mr. Bligh in the boat, after the fatal mutiny). He informs me that on his arrival at Batavia, after great sufferings, Captain Edwards agreed for three Dutch ships to convey the crew of the Pandora to Europe, giving a lieutenant to each division, the first of which had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, before the Thames frigate sailed thence on the 10th February. The Crown man-of-war has since arrived in England, and, as far as I can learn, without bringing

any account of the Pandora's people, though she must have remained some time at the Cape, where she arrived only two days before the Thames sailed. It is certainly a little surprising that the two other divisions of the Pandora's people, which were then hourly expected, had not arrived at the Cape before the Crown sailed. A paragraph in the Gazetteer of 24th last month, says, several of the crew of the Pandora are brought to Dover by the Swan, a Dutch ship, from Batavia, but I have not seen the account confirmed. I fear it is a premature report. We have, therefore, in addition to our former anxiety, ten thousand distracting apprehensions for my dear brother's safety. Permit me, dear Sir, to trespass a little longer on your patience by transcribing a paragraph from Mr. Hayward's letter: "I will therefore take the liberty, my dear young lady, of requesting you to make all possible interest with all your friends, that application be made to his Majesty, so as to be prepared against the most fearful consequences of the impending trial, as I well know that Mr. Bligh's representations to the Admiralty are by no means favourable." This paragraph, my dear Sir, you will readily believe, has alarmed me beyond expression, as we find that, notwithstanding my brother's extreme youth and perfect innocence, (which no one who knew him will for a moment doubt,) he must when the trial takes place be in the most imminent danger. Forgive me, my dear Sir, for

troubling you with this long letter, as it is the subject in which of all others my heart is most deeply interested.

'I am, my dear Sir, with every sentiment of gratitude,

"Your most obliged and affectionate,

'NESSY HEYWOOD.'

On the same day she writes the following letter to her beloved brother:

'*Isle of Man, 3d June*, 1792.

'In a situation of mind only rendered supportable by the long and painful state of misery and suspense we have suffered on his account, how shall I address my dear, my fondly-beloved brother!—how describe the anguish we have felt at the idea of this long and painful separation, rendered still more distressing by the terrible circumstances attending it! Oh! my ever dearest boy, when I look back to that dreadful moment which brought us the fatal intelligence that you had remained in the Bounty after Mr. Bligh had quitted her, and were looked upon by him as a *mutineer!*—when I contrast that day of horror with my present hopes of again beholding you, such as my most sanguine wishes could expect, I know not which is the most predominant sensation,—pity, compassion, and sorrow for your sufferings, or joy and satisfaction at the prospect of their being near a termination, and of once more embracing the dearest object of our affections.

'I will not ask you, my beloved brother, whether you are innocent of the dreadful crime of mutiny; if the transactions of that day were as Mr. Bligh has represented them, such is my conviction of your worth and honour, that I will, without hesitation, stake my life on your innocence. If, on the contrary, you were concerned in such a conspiracy against your commander, I shall be as firmly persuaded *his* conduct was the occasion of it. But, alas! could any occasion justify so atrocious an attempt to destroy a number of our fellow-creatures? No, my ever dearest brother, nothing but conviction from your own mouth can possibly persuade me that you would commit an action in the smallest degree inconsistent with honour and duty; and the circumstance of your having swam off to the Pandora, on her arrival at Otaheite (which filled us with joy to which no words can do justice), is sufficient to convince all who know you, that you certainly staid behind either by force or from views of preservation.

'How strange does it seem to me that I am now engaged in the delightful task of writing to you! Alas! my beloved brother, two years ago I never expected again to enjoy such a felicity, and even yet I am in the most painful uncertainty whether you are alive. Gracious God, grant that we may be at length blessed by your return! But, alas! the Pandora's people have been long expected, and are not even yet arrived. Should any accident have hap-

pened, after all the miseries you have already suffered, the poor gleam of hope with which we have been lately indulged will render our situation ten thousand times more insupportable than if time had inured us to your loss. I send this to the care of Mr. Hayward, of Hackney, father to the young gentleman you so often mention in your letters while you were on board the Bounty, and who went out as third lieutenant of the Pandora, a circumstance which gave us infinite satisfaction, as you would, on entering the Pandora, meet your old friend. On discovering old Mr. Hayward's residence, I wrote to him, as I hoped he could give me some information respecting the time of your arrival, and in return he sent me a most friendly letter, and has promised this shall be given to you when you reach England, as I well know how great must be your anxiety to hear of us, and how much satisfaction it will give you to have a letter immediately on your return. Let me conjure you, my dearest Peter, to write to us the very first moment; do not lose a post; 'tis of no consequence how short your letter may be, if it only informs us you are well. I need not tell you that you are the first and dearest object of our affections. Think, then, my adored boy, of the anxiety we must feel on your account; for my own part, I can know no real joy or happiness independent of you, and if any misfortune should now deprive us of you, my hopes of felicity are fled for ever.

'We are at present making all possible interest with every friend and connexion we have, to insure you a sufficient support and protection at your approaching trial; for a trial you must unavoidably undergo, in order to convince the world of that innocence, which those who know you will not for a moment doubt. But, alas! while circumstances are against you, the generality of mankind will judge severely. Bligh's representations to the Admiralty are, I am told, very unfavourable, and hitherto the tide of public opinion has been greatly in his favour.

''Tis now time, my dear Peter, to give you some account of our own family. If you have not already heard it, be not too much shocked when I tell you, that we have no longer the blessing of a father. Alas! my beloved Peter, he did not live to hear (and fortunately for himself he did not, for it would have broken his heart) the fatal account of that horrid mutiny which has deprived us of you so long. His severe fits of the gout, and distress of mind from the repeated disappointments he met with, put an end to his existence on the 6th of February, 1790. He died blessing you, and incessantly talked of the pleasure he should feel if he lived till your return. My mamma is at present well, considering the distress she has suffered since you left us; for, my dearest brother, we have experienced a complicated scene of misery from a variety of causes, which, however, when compared

with the sorrow we felt on your account, was trifling and insignificant; *that* misfortune made all others light, and to see you once more returned, and safely restored to us, will be the summit of all earthly happiness.

'Farewell, my most beloved brother! God grant this may soon be put into your hands! Perhaps at this moment you are arrived in England, and I may soon have the dear delight of again beholding you. My mamma, brothers, and sisters, join with me in every sentiment of love and tenderness. Write to us immediately, my ever-loved Peter, and may the Almighty preserve you until you bless with your presence your fondly affectionate family, and particularly your unalterably faithful friend and sister,

(Signed) 'NESSY HEYWOOD.'*

* Previous to the writing of this letter, the following copy of verses shews how anxiously this young lady's mind was engaged on the unhappy circumstances under which her brother was placed:

'On the tedious and mournful Absence of a most beloved BROTHER, who was in the BOUNTY with Captain BLIGH at the Time of the FATAL MUTINY, which happened April 28th, 1789, in the South Seas, and who, instead of returning with the Boat when she left the Ship, staid behind.

'Tell me, thou busy, flatt'ring Telltale, why—
Why flow these tears—why heaves this deep-felt sigh?
Why is all joy from my sad bosom flown,
Why lost that cheerfulness I thought my own?
Why seek I now in solitude for ease,
Which once was centred in a wish to please,
When ev'ry hour in joy and gladness past,
And each new day shone brighter than the last;

Among the many anxious friends of the Heywoods was Commodore Pasley, to whom this affectionate young lady addressed herself on the melancholy occasion; and the following is the reply which she received from this officer:

'*Sheerness, June* 8, 1792.

'Would to God, my dearest Nessy, that I could rejoice with you on the early prospect of your brother's arrival in England! One division of the Pandora's people are arrived, and now on board the

When in society I loved to join;
When to enjoy, and give delight, was mine?
Now—sad reverse! in sorrow wakes each day,
And grief's sad tones inspire each plaintive lay:
Alas! too plain these mournful tears can tell
The pangs of woe my lab'ring bosom swell!
Thou best of brothers—friend, companion, guide,
Joy of my youth, my honour, and my pride!
Lost is all peace—all happiness to me,
And fled all comfort, since deprived of thee.'

* * * * *

'Though guiltless thou of mutiny or blame,
And free from aught which could disgrace thy name;
Though thy pure soul, in honour's footsteps train'd,
Was never yet by disobedience stain'd;
Yet is thy fame exposed to slander's wound,
And fell suspicion whispering around.
In vain—to those who knew thy worth and truth,
Who watch'd each op'ning virtue of thy youth;
When noblest principles inform'd thy mind,
Where sense and sensibility were join'd;
Love to inspire, to charm, to win each heart,
And ev'ry tender sentiment impart;
Thy outward form adorn'd with ev'ry grace;
With beauty's softest charms thy heav'nly face,
Where sweet expression beaming ever proved
The index of that soul, by all beloved;

Vengeance (my ship). Captain Edwards with the remainder, and all the prisoners late of the Bounty, in number ten, four having been drowned on the loss of that ship, are daily expected. They have been most rigorously and closely confined since taken, and will continue so, I have no doubt, till Bligh's arrival. You have no chance of seeing him, for no bail can be offered. Your intelligence of his swimming off on the Pandora's arrival is not founded. A man of the name of Coleman came off ere she anchored; your brother and Mr. Stewart

Thy wit so keen, thy genius form'd to soar,
By fancy wing'd, new science to explore;
Thy temper, ever gentle, good, and kind,
Where all but guilt an advocate could find:
To those who know this character was thine,
(And in this truth assenting numbers join,)
How vain th' attempt to fix a crime on thee,
Which thou disdain'st—from which each thought is free!
No, my loved brother, ne'er will I believe
Thy seeming worth was meant but to deceive;
Still will I think (each circumstance though strange)
That thy firm principles could never change;
That hopes of preservation urged thy stay,
Or force, which those resistless must obey.
If this is error, let me still remain
In error wrapp'd—nor wake to truth again!
Come, then, sweet Hope, with all thy train of joy,
Nor let Despair each rapt'rous thought destroy;
Indulgent Heav'n, in pity to our tears,
At length will bless a parent's sinking years;
Again shall I behold thy lovely face,
By manhood form'd, and ripen'd ev'ry grace;
Again I'll press thee to my anxious breast,
And ev'ry sorrow shall be hush'd to rest.

'Nessy Heywood.

'*Isle of Man, Feb. 25th*, 1792.'

next day. This last youth, when the Pandora was lost, refused to allow his irons to be taken off, to save his life. I cannot conceal it from you, my dearest Nessy, neither is it proper I should—your brother appears by all accounts to be the greatest culprit of all, Christian alone excepted. Every exertion, you may rest assured, I shall use to save his life, but on trial I have no hope of his not being condemned. Three of the ten who are expected are mentioned in Bligh's narrative as men detained against their inclination. Would to God your brother had been one of that number! I will not distress you more by enlarging on this subject. As intelligence arises you shall be made acquainted with it. Adieu, my dearest Nessy. Present my affectionate remembrances to your mother and sisters, and believe me always, with the warmest affection,

'Your uncle,

'THOMAS PASLEY.'

In the same kind tone to Nessy, but containing the same or still darker views of Peter's connexion with the mutiny, are letters from J. C. Curwen, Esq., and J. M. Heywood, Esq., to both of whom she applied for aid. 'His extreme youth,' says the former, 'is much in his favour, and I wish to God, for your sakes, it may extenuate a fault, the extent of which I dare say was not foreseen or considered. It would be cruel to flatter you; and however painful, I think it just to say, that unless some

favourable circumstances should appear, any interest which can be made will be of little avail.' 'Though you have every reason to believe that he has been in this instance drawn aside to join in the mutiny,' says Mr. Heywood, 'the goodness of his heart will I fear avail him little when he is convicted of a crime, which, viewed in a political light, is of the blackest dye, highly aggravated by the circumstances of cruelty to his commander and the crew who were driven from the ship.'

By one of that division of the Pandora's men, whose arrival in the Vengeance is mentioned by Commodore Pasley, the letter from Peter, containing an account of himself up to his arrival at Batavia, must have been delivered to Mrs. Heywood. On its receipt, Miss N. Heywood thus writes to Commodore Pasley; and every reader of sensibility will sympathize in the feeling she displays:

'*Isle of Man, 22d June*, 1792.

'Harassed by the most torturing suspense, and miserably wretched as I have been, my dearest uncle, since the receipt of your last, conceive, if it is possible, the heartfelt joy and satisfaction we experienced yesterday morning, when, on the arrival of the packet, the dear delightful letter from our beloved Peter (a copy of which I send you inclosed) was brought to us. Surely, myexcellent friend, you will agree with me in thinking there could not be a stronger proof of his innocence and

worth, and that it must prejudice every person who reads it most powerfully in his favour. Such a letter, in less distressful circumstances than those in which he writes, would, I am persuaded, reflect honour on the pen of a person much older than my poor brother. But when we consider his extreme youth, (only sixteen at the time of the mutiny, and now but nineteen,) his fortitude, patience, and manly resignation, under the pressure of sufferings and misfortunes almost unheard of, and scarcely to be supported at any age, without the assistance of that which seems to be my dear brother's greatest comfort—a quiet conscience, and a thorough conviction of his own innocence—when I add, at the same time, with real pleasure and satisfaction, that his relation corresponds in many particulars with the accounts we have hitherto heard of the fatal mutiny; and when I also add, with inconceivable pride and delight, that my beloved Peter never was known to breathe a syllable inconsistent with truth and honour;—when these circumstances, my dear uncle, are all united, what man on earth can doubt of the innocence which could dictate such a letter? In short, let it speak for him: the perusal of his artless and pathetic story will, I am persuaded, be a stronger recommendation in his favour than any thing I can use.

'I need not tire your patience, my ever-loved uncle, by dwelling longer on this subject (the dearest and most interesting on earth to my heart); let

me conjure you only, my kind friend, to read it, and consider the innocence and defenceless situation of its unfortunate author, which calls for, and I am sure deserves, all the pity and assistance his friends can afford him, and which, I am sure also, the goodness and benevolence of your heart will prompt you to exert in his behalf. It is perfectly unnecessary for me to add, after the anxiety I feel, and cannot but express, that no benefit conferred upon myself will be acknowledged with half the gratitude I must ever feel for the smallest instance of kindness shewn to my beloved Peter. Farewell, my dearest uncle. With the firmest reliance on your kind and generous promises, I am, ever with the truest gratitude and sincerity,'

'Your most affectionate niece,

'NESSY HEYWOOD.'

The letter of Peter Heywood was forwarded from Batavia. His treatment, and that of his fellow prisoners, was almost as bad there as in the Pandora. They were closely confined in irons in the castle, and fed on very bad provisions; and the hardships they endured on their passage to England, in Dutch ships, were very severe;—sleeping on nothing but hard boards, on wet canvas, without any bed, for seventeen months; always subsisting on short allowance of execrable provisions, and without any clothes for some time, except such as were supplied by the charity of two young men. It is extraor-

dinary that he preserved his health under the dreadful sufferings he endured, during eight months' close confinement in a hot climate. Mr. Heywood was removed into the Gorgon, of forty-four guns, lying in Table Bay, March 19th, 1792, and from that period till his arrival in England he appears to have been allowed the inestimable indulgence of walking upon deck for six or eight hours every day, whilst at other times he was confined with only one leg in irons. On the 21st of June, two days after his return to Spithead, he was transferred to the Hector, seventy-four. From the Gorgon, at Spithead, he directed a letter to Richard Betham, Esq., containing a detailed statement respecting the mutiny of the Bounty, and of his conduct, similar to that in the letter already given. By the same post which brought the above were received also two other letters—one to Mrs. Heywood, and the other to his sister Nessy, both of which have been lost. In them he related all the particulars of his voyage from Batavia, to which we have in part alluded above. He had, during his confinement, learned to make straw hats, and that with both his hands in fetters. He finished several, which he sold for half-a-crown a-piece, and with the product of these he procured a suit of coarse clothes, in which, with a cheerful and light heart, notwithstanding all his sufferings, he arrived at Portsmouth. There, in the Hector, commanded by Captain (the late Admiral Sir George) Montague, the prisoners were treated with the greatest hu-

manity; and every indulgence allowed that could, with propriety, be extended to men in their unhappy situation, until the period when they were to be arraigned before the competent authority, and put on their trial for mutiny and piracy.

CHAPTER II.

THE trial did not take place until the month of September. In this period of anxious and awful suspense, a most active and interesting correspondence was carried on between this unfortunate youth and his numerous friends, which exhibits the character of himself and the whole family in the most amiable colours. Mrs. Bertie, (then resident at Portsmouth,) a daughter of Mr. Heywood, of Maristow, became from the moment of Peter's arrival his warm and attentive friend, and in a letter to his mother, dated 28th of June, 1792, says, 'I take the liberty, though a stranger, of addressing you, to tell you that a friend of mine, whom I sent to see him this day, gives the most favourable account of his looks and health, which he assured him he enjoyed perfectly. He was in want of a few things which, at my father's request, he has been and will be supplied with. He expressed a great hope that neither you nor any of his friends would come to see him in his present situation, trusting on his trial to make his innocence appear. My motive for writing is, that, as his let-

ters to you may have miscarried, I think it will be a great satisfaction to you to know that he has a friend and relation on the spot who will do every thing she can to make his present confinement as comfortable as possible.' In the same cover, her father, Mr. Heywood, also writes to the family to say that it would be his endeavour to render him all the assistance in his power. This gentleman also wrote to Peter, giving the same assurance, and advising him to keep up his spirits as much as possible, trusting to a consciousness of his innocence, and to the certainty of having an honourable acquittal.

Again Peter writes to his mother, expressing his disappointment at not having yet heard from home.

'*H. M. S. Hector, June 29, 1792.*

'My dear Mother,

'From my not having as yet received any answer to the letters I wrote you on the 20th inst., I am apprehensive that by some unforeseen accident they may have miscarried, or perhaps, as I have since heard you are in Whitehaven, (the direction upon them being for Douglas,) the cross postage and contrary winds which the packets might meet with, have perhaps occasioned the delay. Let me hear from you as soon as possible, and be so good as to get me a couple of registers of my age.

'An intimate friend of Mr. Heywood, of Maristow, has received instructions from that gentleman to

authorize the first lieutenant of this ship to furnish me with whatever I should be in want of. Oh! my dear mother, what an instance of generous friendship is this! and how unexpected! To come before it was asked is more than I could have hoped even from a father. It will, I hope, be yet in my power to shew myself worthy the patronage of so generous a man. I wrote to him on Wednesday last, and likewise to my uncle Pasley. Alas! I have heard of the death of my aunt, whose loss I truly deplore. How various are the vicissitudes of this transitory life, and how futile are all human expectations! This, I think, I have pretty well experienced, when my age is considered. Yet I already find those things which by the world are called evils, to be of benefit to my disposition, and hope I shall reap intrinsic advantage from them. I wish to be informed of the welfare of my dear brother and sisters, and hope I shall yet be able to shew myself deserving of so kind a patron, and the name of, my ever honoured and dearest mother,

'Your most obedient and dutiful son,

'P. H.'

On the same day, Mrs. Heywood, the afflicted mother, was writing as follows to her son, and the ardent Nessy's pen was also engaged in the same service:

'*Isle of Man, June* 29, 1792.

'Oh! my ever dearly-beloved and long-lost son, with what anxiety have I waited for this period! I

have counted the days, hours, and even minutes, since I first heard of the horrid and unfortunate mutiny which has so long deprived me of my dearest boy: but now the happy time is come when, though I cannot have the unspeakable pleasure of seeing and embracing you, yet I hope we may be allowed to correspond. Surely there can be nothing improper in a liberty of this sort between an affectionate mother and her dutiful and beloved son, who, I am perfectly convinced, was never guilty of the crime he has been suspected of by those who did not know his worth and truth. I have not the least doubt but that the all-gracious God, who of his good providence has protected you so long, and brought you safe through so many dangers and difficulties, will still protect you, and at your trial make your innocence appear as clear as the light. All your letters have come safe to me, and to my very dear good Nessy. Ah! Peter, with what real joy did we all receive them, and how happy are we that you are now safe in England! I will endeavour, my dearest lad, to make your present situation as comfortable as possible, for so affectionate and good a son deserves my utmost attention. Nessy has written to our faithful and kind friend, Mr. Heywood, of Plymouth, for his advice, whether it would be proper for her to come up to you; if he consents to her so doing, not a moment shall be lost, and how happy shall I be when she is with you! Such a sister as she is! Oh! Peter, she is a most valu-

able girl. What comfort will she give you, and how will she lessen the many tedious hours you must, I fear, pass in your confinement! Take care of your health, which is so dear to me, and put your full trust in that Supreme Being who never has nor ever will forsake you. I will not tell you the grief and anguish I and all your brothers and sisters felt when we first heard of the horrid mutiny, and that you were not returned.'—An account of the other branches of the family follows, and Mrs. Heywood concludes: 'As Nessy writes, I will leave her to tell you all I may have omitted. May the Almighty still protect and bless you, my dearest boy, is the continual prayer of your most affectionate mother,

'ELIZABETH HEYWOOD.'

On the same day this 'most valuable girl' thus writes:

* The following lines shew how much her fond mind was fixed on her unfortunate brother:

'*On the Arrival of my dearly-beloved Brother, Peter Heywood, in England, written while a Prisoner, and waiting the Event of his Trial, on board his Majesty's Ship Hector.*

'Come, gentle Muse, I woo thee once again,
Nor woo thee now in melancholy strain;
Assist my verse in cheerful mood to flow,
Nor let this tender bosom Anguish know;
Fill all my soul with notes of Love and Joy,
No more let Grief each anxious thought employ!
* * * * * *
Return'd with every charm, accomplish'd youth!
Adorn'd with Virtue, Innocence, and Truth!
Wrapp'd in thy conscious merit still remain,
Till I behold thy lovely form again.

'MY DEAREST AND MOST BELOVED BROTHER,

'Thanks to that Almighty Providence which has so miraculously preserved you, your fond, anxious, and, till now, miserable Nessy, is at last permitted to address the object of her tenderest affection in England! Oh! my admirable, my heroic boy, what have we felt on your account! yet how small, how infinitely trifling, was the misery of our situation when compared with the horror of yours! Let me now, however, with confidence hope that the God of all mercies has not so long protected you in vain, but will at length crown your fortitude and pious resignation to his will with that peace and happiness you so richly merit. How blest did your delightful and yet dreadful letter from Batavia make us all! Surely, my beloved boy, you could not for a moment imagine we ever supposed you guilty of the crime of mutiny. No,

Protect him, Heav'n, from dangers and alarms,
And oh! restore him to a sister's arms;
Support his fortitude in that dread hour
When he must brave Suspicion's cruel pow'r;
Grant him to plead with Eloquence divine,
In ev'ry word let Truth and Honour shine;
Through each sweet accent let Persuasion flow,
With manly Firmness let his bosom glow,
Till strong Conviction, in each face exprest,
Grants a reward by Honour's self confest.
Let thy Omnipotence preserve him still,
And all his future days with Pleasure fill;
And oh! kind Heav'n, though now in chains he be,
Restore him soon to Friendship, Love, and me.

'NESSY HEYWOOD.

'*Isle of Man, August 5th*, 1792.'

no; believe me, no earthly power could have persuaded us that it was possible for you to do any thing inconsistent with strict honour and duty. So well did we know your amiable, steady principles, that we were assured your reasons for staying behind would turn out such as you represent them; and I firmly trust that Providence will at length restore you to those dear and affectionate friends who can know no happiness until they are blest with your loved society. Take care of your precious health, my beloved boy. I shall soon be with you; I have written to Mr. Heywood (your and our excellent friend and protector) for his permission to go to you immediately, which my uncle Heywood, without first obtaining it, would not allow, fearing lest any precipitate step might injure you at present; and I only wait the arrival of his next letter to fly into your arms. Oh! my best beloved Peter, how I anticipate the rapture of that moment!—for alas! I have no joy, no happiness, but in your beloved society, and no hopes, no fears, no wishes, but for you. I hope you have, ere this time, received a letter from me which I wrote before we had your letter from Batavia, and sent to the care of Mr. Hayward, of Hackney; but as he informed me he could not get it transmitted to you from the difficulty of communication, I took the liberty of requesting Mr. Heywood would send for it, and after reading it, forward it to you. I sent

him also your two last letters, scarcely allowing ourselves time to read, much less (oh! how great would have been the satisfaction!) to keep them. I have ten thousand things to tell you, my dear Peter, that have happened since our mournful separation, but my mind is at present occupied solely with your idea, and my brother and sisters desire to add a few words. Farewell, for a little while. Recommending you to the care of that kind Providence who has hitherto, in his merciful goodness, protected your innocence, I remain, with the fondest love, your most affectionate sister,

'NESSY.'

Mr. Heywood's sisters all address their unfortunate brother in the same affectionate, but less impassioned strain; and a little trait of good feeling is mentioned, on the part of an old female servant, that shews what a happy and attached family the Heywoods were, previous to the melancholy affair in which their boy became entangled. Mrs. Heywood says, 'My good, honest Birket is very well, and says your safe return has made her more happy than she has been for these two and forty years she has been in our family.' And Miss Nessy tells him, 'Poor Birket, the most faithful and worthiest of servants, desires me to tell you that she almost dies with joy at the thought of your safe arrival in England. What agony, my dear boy, has she felt

on your account! her affection for you knows no bounds, and her misery has indeed been extreme; but she still lives to bless your virtues.'

The poor prisoner thus replies, from his Majesty's ship Hector, to his 'beloved sisters all:'—

'*July* 12, 1792.

'This day I had the supreme happiness of your long-expected letters, and I am not able to express the pleasure and joy they afforded me; at the sight of them my spirits, low and dejected, were at once exhilarated; my heart had long and greatly suffered from my impatience to hear of those most dear to me, and was tossed and tormented by the storms of fearful conjecture—but they are now subsided, and my bosom has at length attained that long-lost serenity and calmness it once enjoyed: for you may believe me when I say it never yet has suffered any disquiet from my own misfortunes, but from a truly anxious solicitude for, and desire to hear of, your welfare. God be thanked, you still entertain such an opinion of me as I will flatter myself I have deserved; but why do I say so? Can I make myself too worthy the affectionate praises of such amiable sisters? Oh! my Nessy, it grieves me to think I must be under the necessity, however heart-breaking to myself, of desiring you will relinquish your most affectionate design of coming to see me; it is too long and tedious a journey, and even on your arrival, you would not be allowed the wished-for happiness, both to you and myself, of seeing, much less con-

versing with, your unfortunate brother; the rules of the service are so strict, that prisoners are not permitted to have any communication with female relations; thus even the sight of, and conversation with, so truly affectionate a sister is for the present denied me! The happiness of such an interview let us defer till a time (which, please God, will arrive) when it can be enjoyed with more freedom, and unobserved by the gazing eyes of an inquisitive world, which in my present place of confinement would of course not be the case.

'I am very happy to hear that poor old Birket is still alive; remember me to her, and tell her not to *heave aback*, until God grants me the pleasure of seeing her.

'And now, my dear Nessy, cease to anticipate the happiness of personal communication with your poor, but resigned brother, until wished-for freedom removes the indignant shackles I now bear, from the feet of your fond and most affectionate brother,

'P. H.'

In a previous letter, dated July 5, to his eldest sister Mary, Peter says, 'I had a letter yesterday from Mr. Fryer, late master of the Bounty, in answer to one I wrote him, who says, "Keep up your spirits, for I am of opinion, no one can say you had an active part in the mutiny, and be assured of my doing you justice when called upon." I had the honour of a visit from a Mr. Delafons, (a friend of

my uncle Pasley's,) who, after inquiring into the particulars relative to my situation, advised me to write a petition to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to grant me a speedy trial, the form of which he was so good as to draw up and send me on Tuesday. I hope it may have the desired effect of speedily making my guilt or innocence known to the world, and of relieving me from the miserable state of anxiety and suspence I am now in.'

His uncle Pasley was indeed most active and kind in his service, as will best be testified by the following letters:

To Mr. P. Heywood.

'*Sheerness, July* 6, 1792.

'I have letters, my dear Sir, from Sir A. Hammond and Captain Montague in answer to mine. I had desired the former to supply you with money, or whatever else you might want, on my account; but by his letters it would appear that Captain Bertie has already taken care on that head. Capt. M. writes me that he has delivered a memorial from you to the Lords of the Admiralty. Mr. Delafons, my friend, who has been with you, is a very sensible, judicious man; consult him on every step you take, as no person can be a better judge of the proper mode of defence. I have seen Mr. Fryer the master, and Cole the boatswain, both favourable witnesses. To-day I set off for Woolwich and Deptford to endeavour to see the gunner and car-

penter, and shall try to see, ere I return, Hayward and Hallet. I have tried to get the rigour of your confinement mitigated, but find that at present nothing can be done as to enlargement. The Admiralty, I find, have laid your case before the Crown lawyers for their opinion, whether you should be tried by a Naval Court Martial or Admiralty Court, but as yet no answer is returned. Rest assured of my utmost exertions; whenever you are tried I shall attend. Believe me, with great truth, your affectionate uncle,

'T. PASLEY.'

To Miss N. HEYWOOD.

'*July* 15, 1792.

'I received your letter, my dearest Nessy, with the enclosure, (your brother's narrative,) but did not choose to answer it till I had made a thorough investigation, that is, seen personally all the principal evidences, which has ever since occupied my whole thoughts and time. I have also had some letters from himself, and notwithstanding he must still continue in confinement, every attention and indulgence possible is granted him by Captain Montague of the Hector, who is my particular friend. I have no doubt of the truth of your brother's narrative; the master, boatswain, gunner, and carpenter, late of the Bounty, I have seen, and have the pleasure to assure you that they are all favourable, and corroborate what he says. That *fellow*, Captain

Edwards, whose inhuman rigour of confinement I shall never forget, I have likewise seen ; he cannot deny that Peter avowed himself late of the Bounty when he came voluntarily aboard; this is a favourable circumstance. I have been at the Admiralty, and read over all the depositions taken and sent home by Bligh and his officers from Batavia, likewise the court-martial on himself; in none of which appears any thing against Peter. As soon as Lieut. Hayward arrives with the remainder of the Pandora's crew, the court-martial is to take place. I shall certainly attend, and we must have an able counsellor to assist, for I will not deceive you, my dear Nessy; however favourable circumstances may appear, our martial law is severe; by the tenour of it, the man who stands neuter is equally guilty with him who lifts his arm against his captain in such cases. His extreme youth, and his delivering himself up, are the strong points of his defence. Adieu! my dearest Nessy; present my love to your mother and sisters, and rest assured of my utmost exertions to extricate your brother.

'Your affectionate uncle,

'T. PASLEY.'

This excellent man did not stop here; knowing that sea-officers have a great aversion from counsel, he writes to say, 'A friend of mine, Mr. Graham, who has been secretary to the different admirals on the Newfoundland station for these twelve years,

and consequently has acted as judge-advocate at courts-martial all that time, has offered me to attend you; he has a thorough knowledge of the service, uncommon abilities, and is a very good lawyer. He has already had most of the evidences with him. Adieu! my young friend; keep up your spirits, and rest assured I shall be watchful for your good. My heart will be more at ease, if I can get my friend Graham to go down, than if you were attended by the first counsel in England.' Mr. Graham* accordingly attended, and was of the greatest service at the trial.

To Mr. P. HEYWOOD.

'*Sheerness, July* 15, 1792.

'Have courage, my dear young friend, and hope the best. I have no doubt we shall see you acquitted whenever your court-martial takes place. Be assured, I will endeavour to procure leave of absence, and attend you at Portsmouth. I have to-day written to your sister Nessy. When any difficulty arises that I can serve you in, use no ceremony, assured that it will afford pleasure to your very affectionate uncle,

'THOMAS PASLEY.'

Nessy Heywood had expressed a strong desire to see her brother, but was told the rules of the service

* The late Aaron Graham, Esq, the highly-respected police magistrate in London.

would not allow it; also, that it would agitate him, when he ought to be cool and collected to meet his approaching trial. Mr. Heywood, of Maristow, and his daughter, Mrs. Bertie, had intimated to him the same thing. These excellent people, from the moment of young Heywood's arrival, had shewn him every kindness, supplied him with money, and, what was better, with friends, who could give him the best advice. To this worthy lady, Miss Nessy Heywood thus addresses herself:

'Overwhelmed with sensations of gratitude and pleasure, which she is too much agitated to express, permit me, dearest Madam, at my mamma's request, to offer you her and our most sincere acknowledgments for your invaluable letter, which, from the detention of the packet, she did not receive till yesterday. By a letter from my beloved brother, of the same date, we are informed that Mr. Larkham (whom I suppose to be the gentleman you mention having sent to see him) has been on board the Hector, and has kindly offered him the most salutary advice relative to his present situation, for which allow me to request you will present him our best thanks. He also speaks with every expression a grateful heart can dictate of your excellent father's goodness in providing for all his wants, even before he could have received any letters from us to that purpose.

'Ah! my dear Madam, how truly characteristic is this of the kind friendship with which he has

ever honoured our family! But my beloved Peter does not know that Mr. Heywood has a daughter, whose generosity is equal to his own, and whose amiable compassion for his sufferings it will be as impossible for us to forget, as it is to express the admiration and gratitude it has inspired. It would, I am convinced, be unnecessary, as well as a very bad compliment to you, Madam, were I to presume to point out any thing particular to be done for our poor boy, as I have not the least doubt your goodness and kind intention have long ago rendered every care of that sort on our part unnecessary. I shall only add, that my mamma begs every wish he forms may be granted, and sure I am, he will not desire a single gratification that can be deemed in the smallest degree improper.

'In one of my brother's letters, dated the 23d, he hints that he shall not be permitted to see any of his relations till his trial is over, and that he therefore does not expect us. I have, however, written to Mr. Heywood (without whose approbation I would by no means take any step) for permission to go to him. If it is absolutely impossible for me to see him (though in the presence of witnesses), yet even that prohibition, cruel as it is, I could bear with patience, provided I might be near him, to see the ship in which he at present exists—to behold those objects which, perhaps, at the same moment attract his notice—to breathe the same air, which he breathes.—Ah! my dearest

Madam, these are inestimable gratifications, and would convey sensations of rapture and delight to the fond bosom of a sister, which it is far, very far beyond my power to describe. Besides, the anxiety and impatience produced by the immense distance which now separates us from him, and the uncertainty attending the packet, render it difficult and sometimes impossible to hear of him so often as we would wish—and, may I not add (though Heaven in its mercy forbid it— for, alas! the bare idea is too dreadful, yet it is in the scale of possibility), that some accident might happen to deprive us of my dearest brother: how insupportably bitter would then be our reflections for having omitted the opportunity, when it was in our power, of administering comfort and consolation to him in person! For these reasons, I earnestly hope Mr. Heywood will not judge it improper to comply with my request, and shall wait with eager impatience the arrival of his next letter. Think not, my dear Madam, that it is want of confidence in your care and attention which makes me solicitous to be with my beloved brother. Be assured we are all as perfectly easy in that respect as if we were on the spot; but I am convinced you will pardon the dictates of an affection which an absence of five years, rendered still more painful by his sufferings, has heightened almost to a degree of adoration. I shall, with your permission, take the liberty of inclosing a letter to my brother, which I leave open

for perusal, and at the same time request your pardon for mentioning you to him in such terms as I am apprehensive will wound the delicacy which ever accompanies generosity like yours; but in deed, my dearest Madam, I cannot, must not, suffer my beloved boy to remain in ignorance of that worth and excellence which has prompted you to become his kind protectress.

'I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of gratitude, &c., &c., &c.,

'NESSY HEYWOOD.'

But Peter strongly dissuaded her from undertaking the journey upon which her heart was thus intent.

'*Hector, July* 16, 1792.

'MY DEAREST NESSY,

'Let me hope this will find you at Douglas, having laid aside all thoughts of your most affectionate intention to see your unfortunate brother. Alas! my love, an interview with those most dear to me on earth is for the present denied me! Picture then to yourself how great would be the disappointment—to you more especially, as it would be altogether unexpected—to me 'twould be nothing more than I have long been inured to. Yet the anxiety I should feel from having one so dear to me, near at hand and unable to see her, would be almost insupportable. Let us then be resigned to our fate, contented with this sort of

communication, and be thankful to God for having allowed us that happiness—for be assured my confinement is *liberty* compared to what it has been for the last fifteen months, when I am reading the dear and affectionate sentiments of my mother and sisters in the long-wished-for sight of their handwriting. It grieves me to think how unhappy such a disappointment would have made my dear Nessy, and I shall still be in pain till I hear that my last letter, or one from Mr. Heywood, has prevented it. Long absence, my love, augments the joy we feel at meeting. I send you two little sketches* of the manner in which His Majesty's Ship Pandora went down on the 29th of August, and the appearance we who survived made on the small sandy key within the reef, about ninety yards long and one hundred athwart, in all ninety-nine souls. Here we remained three days, subsisting on a single wine-glass of wine or water, and two ounces of bread, daily, with no shelter from the meridian, and then vertical, sun. Captain Edwards had tents erected for himself and his people, and we prisoners petitioned him for an old sail which was lying useless, part of the wreck, but though in the latitude of 11° south, he refused it, and all the shelter we had was to bury ourselves up to the neck in the burning sand, which scorched the skin (we being quite naked) entirely off our bodies, as if dipped in large

* An engraving from one of these is given in the 25th number of the Family Library.

tubs of boiling water. We were nineteen days in a similar miserable situation before we reached Coupang. From this you may have some faint idea of our wretched condition. I was in the ship in irons, hands and feet, much longer than till the position you now see her in, the poop alone being above water, (and that knee-deep,) when Providence assisted me to get out of irons, and from her. With sincere love and duty to my dear mother, brothers and sisters, I remain,

'Your affectionate brother,

'PETER HEYWOOD.'

Respecting the abandonment of the intended journey, and in reply to this, Nessy writes as follows:

'Mr. Heywood has, in his last letter to me, rather disapproved of my intention to go to you; the reason he urged against it was, that as you will now be taken every care of, and will receive the utmost attention from your friends, among whom the excellent Mr. Bertie is first, I could do you no essential service, and that he feared I might, by seeing you in your present situation, agitate and perhaps injure both you and myself. With respect to you, my love, that reason has great weight with me, because your mind ought for the present to be kept cool and composed: and I would not lessen that composure even by affording you all I could, a painful pleasure in seeing me—but as for myself, no

danger, no fatigue, no difficulties would deter me. I have youth, health, and excellent spirits: these and the strength of my affection would support me through it all. If I were not allowed to see you, yet being in the same place with you would be to me joy inexpressible. However, that very circumstance would be distressing to you, and would only be a source of mortification. I will not, therefore, any longer desire it, but will learn to imitate your fortitude and patience. Do you know, I envy you exceedingly? To have borne with such heroism your dreadful misfortunes—to become the idol of all your relations and friends, and to be held up as an example of worth and suffering virtue,—tell me, my love, is not such a triumph worth the purchase? Thus speaks *my* little bravery of spirit. Yet how does my fond affection for my dear brother shrink with horror at the bare recollection of his dangers! The sweet and pious resignation which has hitherto happily conducted you through them, is, I freely own, just what I expected from you; for such is my idea of your character, that I should have been disappointed had you acted less nobly. With respect to the event of your trial, I am sure we ought to banish every sentiment of fear, and rest securely on the assistance of a kind Providence, and your own virtue. If there be justice for the innocent on this earth, you will assuredly be restored to us with honour. Ah! my dear Peter, how the idea transports me! May the Giver of all

good in mercy grant, that such may soon be our happy lot, and that I may at length enjoy the felicity of pressing the best of brothers to the bosom of his ever faithfully affectionate sister,

'NESSY.'

'*Isle of Man, July* 22, 1792.

'Yes, my ever-dearest Peter, I am still at Douglas, and shall not, without your express permission, leave it till I have the inconceivable happiness of knowing you are once more restored to liberty. My last letter would, I hope, make you quite easy respecting my intended journey. A thousand thanks for the sketches of the Pandora, which pleased but yet pained us exceedingly. I will not say the sight of them brought your past sufferings to our minds; for, alas! the recollection of them is ever present with us; and yet how indescribably happy are we to think our beloved Peter has escaped such dangers, and will, at length, meet the reward of his virtues in the bosom of friendship and domestic felicity! I have another request to make, my dear Peter; don't you think you could accomplish a sketch of something else for your Nessy? I mean of that dear face I have so long and so ardently wished to see. It is impossible for me to procure a miniature of you at present, but perhaps you could draw a likeness strong enough to give me an idea of the alteration in your face and person since we parted.—Oh! how happy should I be to gaze on

your portrait, were it even the most distant resemblance! Suppose you try? Perhaps it will amuse you in a leisure hour, and how would the possession of it delight me!

Mr. P. HEYWOOD *to Miss* N. HEYWOOD.

'*Hector*, *July* 31, 1792.

'MY DEAREST NESSY,

'I had this morning the pleasure of your last, and am glad to find you liked the sketches I sent you of the Pandora. I could not help laughing heartily at the request you made, to draw *my own* picture. With what pleasure would I do any thing in my power to afford my Nessy even a momentary happiness! but that is a part of the art which I never attempted, and am conscious that my insignificant abilities are by no means equal to the most distant likeness of a face. And, in fact, I have not one pencil, nor any colours, they being all lost in Endeavour Straits, with about 80 drawings, besides my little all of property. But wait awhile, and with God's assistance I will present you with *the original*. Ah! my dear Nessy, what tranquillity of mind do I feel in thinking that my uncle Pasley and Mr. Heywood, my best friends, still consider me as not altogether unworthy their powerful patronage and attention! I can only, for the present, say it will be my constant and first study to deserve their friendship.'

With a subsequent letter he sends the desired pic-

ture of himself, drawn from recollection, not having seen his face in a looking-glass for a twelvemonth. 'However, if the face is not like, the dress is just what I now wear, and the position such as I generally sit in, either reading, writing, or drawing. The straw hat I made myself in the Dutch Indiaman from Matavia to the Cape, to pass away the tedious hours of confinement.'

To Miss N. HEYWOOD.

'*Hector*, *August* 9, 1792.

'Oh! my truly dear sister, what an unusual sort of pleasure did I yesterday (when I at length received the parcel) enjoy from the perusal of those beautiful pieces of poetry contained in the pocket book, the effusions of such a heart as has seldom occupied a human frame! Can I ever have it in my power to shew, by future actions, that I am worthy of such a sister? No; 'tis almost impossible. But shall I not then endeavour, by the utmost exertions, to attain a degree of those perfections my beloved Nessy has, in her delightful poem, represented me as already possessing? Certainly. Am I not bound by the strongest ties of blood, friendship and affection? Then let me ever have you, my sister, before my eyes, that by imitating your worth, I may at length deserve the epithets you bestow. Ah! Nessy, how my heart, at this moment, overflows with gratitude and affection; then how would it leap within me were I to

behold, to converse with my long-absent and dearly-beloved sister! But, alas! I am running on like a silly boy. I have to encounter the greatest difficulties, unfavourable prejudice, and perhaps injustice, ere that supreme happiness can be mine. Yet have I not on my side, truth, conscience, and, above all, that omnipotent Being whose protection I have so often experienced, and whose anger alone I dread? Therefore, why should I entertain a doubt of his protection now? No; I doubt it not. Placing the utmost confidence in his aid, I dare flatter myself with the hope of seeing that long wished-for happy day.

'In return, I send you some of the *sublime*. Don't exert your risible faculties at my expense. 'Tis but an endeavour at an art I have scarcely any notion of, and upon a subject which I could not describe as it deserved. It happened rather remarkably on that unfortunate day which deprived me of our most regretted parent. The dream which occasioned this poetical attempt I shall never forget, so powerful was its effect upon my mind. I owe to it all my present serenity, and it was this alone which enabled me to bear the many troubles I have had to encounter. I hammered at it while at Otaheite, and after writing it I learnt it by heart, and now you have it from recollection. Adieu, my dear girl. I hope you keep up my mother's spirits, for I know you are well qualified to do so. My

tenderest love and duty to her, my dear brothers and sisters.

'Your faithfully affectionate brother,

'PETER HEYWOOD.'

The reader will, perhaps, be pleased to see a portion of this 'poetical attempt,' if not on account of the poetry itself, yet as giving in its style of sentiment the characteristics of the youthful sufferer's mind. Its title runs thus: 'A Dream which happened to Peter Heywood, February 6, 1790, while he was at Otaheite, an Exile from his Friends and Country, owing to the Fatal Mutiny on board His Majesty's Ship Bounty (in which Ship he was forced to remain against his inclination, and not suffered to accompany the Captain in the Boat): related by himself.' After a few introductory verses, in which he compares the morals of the Otaheitans and the Europeans, to the advantage of the former, he goes on to speak of himself—

While thus, by care oppressed, at midnight oft
(When all was hushed and silent as the grave,
When minds at ease take rest beneath the soft
And balmy wings of sleep; and nought else, save

The wakeful crickets' loud shrill-sounding din
Seem'd to disturb the universal peace)
In pensive mood, retired he'd walk within
Some lonely grove, and there his anguish ease,

By breathing out his grief without reserve
To that Creator, who alone best knows
Whom to reward, and who shall most deserve,
And anger pours on those who slight his laws.

One evening, musing thus, retired, alone,
Under a dark and shady grove of trees,
Composed of branching ooroo,* and o'ergrown
With various shrubs the gazing eye to please;

The deep unbroken silence of the night,
The stillness which the distant sea display'd,
While pale-faced Cynthia's dim and trembling light
On the calm surface of the waters played,

With constant twinkling of the starry train:
This great, this awful and majestic sight
Served somewhat to abate his inward pain,
And change it into secret, soft delight!

He some time thus, in contemplation lost,
Sat down upon a fruitful ooroo's foot
(His soul with discontented passion toss'd)
To ruminate, in meditation mute,

Upon the station Heaven had him assigned;
But long had not been seated ere his eyes,
O'erpower'd with sleep, were shut, and in his mind
An edifying dream then 'gan to rise.

Convey'd by airy fancy to the banks
Of a cool murm'ring stream, which softly flowed
Through windings of a vale, where blooming ranks
Of fragrant orange-trees and myrtles glowed;

* * * *

Onward he there proceeds with easy pace
Along the water's edge (within this sweet
And bright inviting Paradise), to trace
The works of nature in a safe retreat,

Till to a craggy precipice he came
That sudden limits on his course imposed;
Beneath the impending summits of the same
A verdant turf he saw, and there reposed.

While seated there, a sudden gloom o'erspread
The atmosphere, the winds their breathing ceased;
A voice which seem'd to issue from o'er head,
With hollow tone, to him these words addressed:

'Young man, thy secret murmuring forbear!
And wailings that disgrace thy nature, cease;
For know thou this—'tis not for thee to dare
God's Providence arraign, but bear in peace.

'Tis not for man, despairing, to repine
At those misfortunes which may him befal
In this his present life—'tis God's design
Adversity should be the lot of all.

Know, to each mortal upon earth 'tis sent
To wean him from these transient scenes of bliss,
To fix his hopes on joys more permanent,
And from his mind all grovelling thoughts dismiss.

Your blessings he withdraws, that man may see
His own weak insufficiency, and know
That there's a Power above, whose firm decree
Rules over all this earthly globe below.

Nor can there ever happen an event
But Providence doth wisely it ordain,
And 'tis, by his omnisciency, meant
Some greatly good and useful end to gain.

* * * *

In future, therefore, rivet in thy mind
A firm belief of this great truth—that God
Is author of events of every kind,
Though dark'ning oft with woe life's thorny road.

Think that in reason we should thank as much
The goodness of the Almighty e'en for those
Misfortunes we receive, or deem as such,
As for the greatest blessings he bestows.

With pious resignation so depend
On God in all conditions, and submit
Thyself and thy concerns, till life shall end,
To his disposal.——

And strive to acquiesce in every state
Or turn of fortune He appoints, who knows
What's best for thee—for all. His time await,
And he'll deliver thee from all thy woes!'

The sound of these last words had scarcely left
His ears, when Somnus from his eyes withdrew.
He found his limbs of feeling quite bereft,
And stiffened by the cold nocturnal dew.

Soon he perceived that this mysterious dream
Was as an admonition from above;
It cheered his soul, and on his heart a gleam
Of comfort poured which woke anew his love.

It cleared away the gloom which shaded o'er
His thoughts;—it made him resolute to be
More patient than he had been heretofore,
More hopefully resigned to God's decree.

Thus comforted, he rose from off the ground;
Then kneeling down upon a grassy sod,
He raised his hands, and glancing all around,
Poured forth his thanks to his Almighty God.

From that same moment it was his to feel
His mind with shielding wisdom strongly armed;
Repining lips he learnt thenceforth to seal,
And brightly-kindled trust his bosom warmed.

PETER HEYWOOD, *aged* 17.

Otaheite, Feb. 6, 1790.

Mr. P. HEYWOOD *to Mrs.* HEYWOOD.

'*Hector*, *August* 15, 1792.

'These few lines, my dear and honoured mother, are only to inform you that Lord Hood's fleet is arrived at Spithead, and the amiable Mrs. Bertie sent to inform me that my trial will now, as she imagines, soon take place—the fleet being to wait till it is over. Nothing that can give me comfort is she inattentive to. In short, her whole behaviour to me is unequalled.

'The question, my dear mother, in one of your letters, concerning my swimming off to the Pandora is one falsity among the too many about which I have often thought of undeceiving you, and as frequently forgot. The story was this. On the morning she arrived, I, accompanied by two of my friends, (the natives,) was going up the mountains, and having got about a hundred yards from my own house, another of my friends (for I was an universal favourite amongst these Indians, and perfectly conversant with their language) came running after me, and informed me there was a ship coming. I immediately went up on a rising ground, and saw, with the utmost joy, a ship lying to off Hapiano, a district two or three miles to windward of Matavai, where I lived. It was just after daylight, and thinking Coleman might not be awake, and therefore ignorant of such pleasing news, living a mile and a half from me, and wishing to give any one such satisfaction as that, I sent one of my servants to inform him of it, upon which he immediately went off in a single canoe. There was a fresh breeze, and the ship working into the bay, he no sooner got alongside than the rippling capsized the canoe, and he being obliged to let go the tow-rope, went astern, and was picked up in the canoe next tack. Thus he was the first person taken on board the Pandora. I, along with Stewart my messmate, was then standing on the beach, with a double canoe manned, with

twelve paddles, ready for launching. Therefore, just as she made her last tack into her berth, (for we did not think it necessary to go off sooner,) we put off, and got alongside just as they streamed the buoy; and being dressed in the country manner, tanned as brown as themselves, and I tattooed like them in the most curious manner, I do not wonder at their taking us for natives. I was tattooed, not at my own desire, but theirs; for it was my constant endeavour to acquiesce in any little custom which I thought would be agreeable to them, though painful in the process, provided I gained by it their friendship and esteem, which you may suppose no inconsiderable object in an island where the natives are so numerous. The more a man or woman there is tattooed, the more respect is paid them; and a person who has none of these marks is looked upon as bearing a most indignant badge of disgrace, and considered as a mere outcast of society. You may suppose, then, that my disposition would not suffer me to be long out of fashion. I always made it a maxim when I was in Rome to act as Rome did, provided it did not interfere with my morals or religion. By this means I was the greatest favourite of any Englishman on shore, and treated with respect by every person in the island, in whose mouths *my* name ever was an object of love and esteem. Perhaps you may think I flatter* myself,

That he did not flatter himself, Captain Bligh's second voyage to

but I really do not. Adieu, my dearest mother. Your dutiful son,

'P. H.'

Miss N. HEYWOOD *to Mr.* P. HEYWOOD.

'*Isle of Man, August* 17, 1792.

'How shall I thank you, my best-loved brother, for your last dear letter and charming poem? How has the perusal of it delighted us all! How have I wept over it, while my attention was divided between admiration at the mysterious interposition of Providence, which I am convinced was the case on that remarkable and lamented day when we were for ever deprived of our beloved parent, and gratitude to a beneficent Being, who has so graciously preserved, and will, at length, with confidence I speak it, restore you to our wishes, the amiable, the truly perfect character your opening virtues promised!

'I have a letter from my uncle Pasley, by the packet, full of the most favourable accounts. Is not this delightful? I cannot help contrasting our present situation with what it has been these five years past, when each dreaded arrival of the packet brought us some distressing intelligence; now how different! Its return is impatiently wished for, and every letter is replete with comfort, satisfaction, and happiness!

Otaheite proves, from the very many inquiries the natives made about him of the ship's company, and the very great esteem and respect they professed for his memory and character.

You make me blush, my dear brother, by your encomiums. I dare not flatter myself with any merit but that of endeavouring to deserve them. If I have studied to acquire any new accomplishments, in your absence, believe me, my first pleasure in the attainment of them was, the hope of approving myself in some degree worthy of such a brother.

* * * *

'Your most fondly-attached sister,

'NESSY HEYWOOD.'

Mr. P. HEYWOOD *to Miss* N. HEYWOOD.

'*Hector*, *August* 23, 1792.

'My dearest Nessy's of the 17th I have this morning received, and have also information from Mr. Beardsworth, that Mr. Erskine and Mr. Mingay are not retained for me, but a Mr. Const. The contrast, as my dear girl observes, betwixt the past and the present is great, and let us hope ere many weeks it will be much greater. I am glad you like my piece of *poetry*, I was going to say, and which your partiality dignifies with the name of poem; but don't imagine I am to believe all you say. You flatter me, Nessy, more than I can ever deserve. I have had as yet no authentic intelligence when the trial will be. Lord Hood returned from London last night, and his flag was hoisted this morning, so that I daily expect to receive certain information. When I do, I shall not, I think, inform you of the exact

day on which my fate is to be decided, as it would throw you into the most painful state of anxious suspense. Therefore, let it suffice, my dearest Nessy, to know that it is not far off—that I am perfectly well, and hope.

'Your faithful brother,

'P. H.'

Nessy having, in one of her letters, inquired how tall he was, and having received information on this point, expressed some surprise that he was not taller. 'And so,' he replies, 'you are surprised I am not taller!—Ah, Nessy! let me ask you this: Suppose the two last years of *your* growth had been retarded by close confinement,—nearly deprived of all kinds of necessary aliment—shut up from the all-cheering light of the sun for the space of five months, and never suffered to breathe the fresh air (an enjoyment which Providence denies to none of his creatures) during all that time—and without any kind of exercise to stretch and supple your limbs—besides many other inconveniences which I will not pain you by mentioning—how tall should you have been, my dear sister? Answer, four feet nothing: but enough of nonsense.'

Till the moment of the trial, every thought of this sensitive and affectionate sister was absorbed in her brother's fate; and the following lines were written by her on receiving information that the trial was soon to take place:

'Oh! gentle Hope! with eye serene,
And aspect, ever sweetly mild;
Who deck'st with gayest flowers each scene
In sportive, rich luxuriance wild!

Thou—soother of corroding care,
When sharp affliction's pangs we feel,
Teachest with fortitude to bear,
And know'st deep sorrows' wounds to heal.

Thy timid vot'ry now inspire,
Thy influence in pity lend;
With confidence this bosom fire,
Till anxious, dread suspense shall end.

Oh! let not fear invade my breast;
My Lycidas no terror knows;
With conscious innocence he's blest,
And soon will triumph o'er his foes.

Watch him, sweet Pow'r, with looks benign;
Possession of his bosom keep;
While waking, make each moment shine,
With fancy gild his hours of sleep.

Protect him still, nor let him dread
The awful, the approaching hour,
When on his poor devoted head
Fell slander falls with cruel power.

Yet, gentle Hope, deceive me not,
Nor with deluding smiles betray;
Be honour's recompence his lot,
And glory crown each future day!

And oh! support this fainting heart
With courage, till that hour is past,
When, freed from envy's fatal dart,
His innocence shines forth at last.

Among the friends who manifested their sympathy in his situation at the approaching crisis were Col. Holwell, his uncle, Commodore Pasley, and Dr. Scott.

The first thus writes from Southborough, Tunbridge, August 21, 1792:

'MY VERY DEAR PETER,

'I have this day received yours of the 18th, and am happy to find that, notwithstanding your long and cruel confinement, you still preserve your health, and write in good spirits. Preserve it, my dear boy, awful as the approaching period must be, even to the most innocent, but from which all who know you have not a doubt of your rising as immaculate as a new-born infant. I have known you from your cradle, and have often marked with pleasure and surprise the many assiduous instances you have given (far beyond your years) of filial duty and fraternal affection to the best of parents, and to brothers and sisters, who doated on you. Your education has been the best; and from these considerations alone, without the very clear evidence of your own testimony, I would as soon believe the Archbishop of Canterbury would set fire to the city of London, as suppose you could directly or indirectly join in such an absurd piece of business. Truly sorry am I that my state of health will not permit me to go down to Portsmouth to give this testimony publicly, before that respectable tribunal where your country's laws have justly ordained you must appear. But consider this as the touchstone, my dear boy, by which your worth must be known. Six years in the navy myself, and twenty-eight years

a soldier, I flatter myself my judgment will not prove erroneous. That power, my dear Peter, of whose grace and mercy you seem to have so just a sense, will not now forsake you.

'Let me know as soon as possible when the court-martial is to be, and who are its members. Ever, with prayers for your health, thine affectionately,

'J. HOLWELL.'

Dr. SCOTT *to Mr.* P. HEYWOOD.

'*Isle of Man, August* 27, 1792.

'MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

'I was favoured with yours of the 19th, and it gave me true satisfaction to know you are bearing up under a load of misfortunes with that true magnanimity which ever attends on the innocent, with the resignation becoming a Christian, and accompanied by a fortitude rarely to be met with at your years.

'Would to heaven it were in my power to offer you consolation under your great trial, or that any thing could fall from my pen which would in the least alleviate your sufferings! However, my dear Sir, let me admonish you to keep up your spirits, and be assured you have my warmest wishes that your misfortunes may be brought to a speedy and happy conclusion. From the good opinion I always formed of your character, I have ever considered you innocent of the crime that has been laid to your charge, and though some appearances might be

against you, yet the unprejudiced mind acts upon firmer principles than to be biassed by foul-mouthed calumny. On these grounds you have, and ever had, my good opinion. Consider, then, what a glorious triumph will be yours when, cleared of every aspersion that now gives you pain; liberty will become doubly dear to you by having (undeservedly too) experienced bondage. The joy and affectionate congratulations of your family and friends are prospects, which, I trust, will have their due weight in helping to support you in your present calamitous circumstances. With what double relish will you then enjoy prosperity, who have undergone so much the reverse! That the time may not be far distant, is the sincere wish of, my dear young friend,

'Yours, most cordially,

'PATRICK SCOTT.'

Commodore PASLEY *to Miss* N. HEYWOOD.

'*London, September* 6, 1792.

'I set off for town, my dearest Nessy, the moment Lieut. Hayward arrived. All the evidences left town early this morning, and the trial will most probably take place about Monday the 10th. I shall say nothing of what I expect the result will be, but at present appearances are favourable, and I would wish you to keep up all your spirits. Last night I had a meeting with Mr. Const (at his chambers) and my friend Mr. Graham, who will write you the earliest moment possible from Portsmouth.

This gentleman is an intimate and very particular friend of mine, and has (though, I know, attended with great inconvenience to him) voluntarily offered his services, which I most joyfully accepted, knowing his uncommon abilities,—happier, and my mind more at ease, by his attendance than I could have been from that of the first counsel in England. My love to your Mamma and all the family. God grant you may soon have favourable accounts of the result! I shall myself be most unhappy till I hear it.

'My dearest Nessy, your truly affectionate uncle,

'T. P.'

The SAME *to Mr.* P. HEYWOOD.

'*London, Sept.* 6, 1792.

'This will be delivered to you by my very particular friend Mr. Graham, of whose abilities I have the highest opinion, and trust your cause to him with a confidence I should not have done to any man in England—the whole bar of counsel not excepted. I request you, my dear young friend, to place your perfect confidence in him, and follow implicitly his advice. It is impossible to know all that may be brought forth, but so far as we do know, I have every reason to think you may look forward with pleasing hopes. I refer you to my friend Mr. Graham for information. Your counsel seems a sensible, clever young man, but my dependence is on Graham. If he had not been so kind as to offer

me his services in this, (for which I shall esteem myself for ever obliged to him,) I would at all events have attended myself. God grant I may hear soon of your honourable acquittal! it will, believe me, rejoice the heart of your most affectionate uncle,

'T. PASLEY.'

On the subject of the employment of counsel, Peter Heywood thus expressed himself in a letter to his sister Mary, dated July 25th;

'I am sorry to find by your letter, my dear sister, that you all seem to be very ignorant of the nature of a naval court-martial, by supposing that the assistance of counsellors can be of any use. Mr. Larkham has this moment desired me to assure you that counsel to a naval prisoner is of no effect, and as they are not allowed to speak, their eloquence is not of the least efficacy. I request, therefore, you will desire my dear mother to revoke the letter she has been so good to write to retain Mr. Erskine and Mr. Mingay, and to forbear putting herself to so great and needless an expense, from which no good can accrue. No, no! Mary—it is not the same as a trial on shore; it would then be highly requisite; but, in this case, *I* alone must fight my own battle; and I think my telling the truth undisguised, in a plain, short, and concise manner, is as likely to be considered deserving the victory as the most elaborate eloquence of a Cicero upon the same subject. I have not the least fear of being at a loss on my

trial, as my uncle Pasley has most kindly promised to be with me, and will, I make no doubt, assist if permitted.

'Your fondly affectionate brother,

'P. H.'

Under these auspices—conscious that he was an object of the tenderest attachment of his family, and of the warm interest of a large circle of friends, whose approbation he was most anxious to justify, this noble-minded youth awaited his trial. Alas! the cup of his distresses was not yet full. His last letter before the trial was addressed to his mother.

'*Hector*, *Sept.* 11, 1792.

'If I had not received my dear mother's letter of the 6th, I should not have written—but yet 'tis as well to do so, because I have something to say that will give you pleasure, though my trial is not yet over. On Saturday, the 8th, Mr. Graham came on board to see me, and brought a letter from my generous uncle Pasley. The next day he came again, accompanied by Mr. Const. With them I had a private conference, by Captain Montague's permission, and from what information I had the happiness to receive, I have every reason (as may you, my dear mother) to look forward with the most pleasing hopes of ——

'I need not—indeed I should not, say much to you, my dearest mother, on so tender a subject; but let it suffice to tell you,

'The awful day of trial now draws nigh,
When I shall see another day—or *die*.'

My next will give you either *good* news or *bad;* therefore I know my dear mother will, with the fortitude and resignation of a true Christian, prepare herself for either. Methinks the hint is sufficient. Let me then request, my beloved parent will endeavour to obtain that tranquil serenity of mind which now is, thank God, possessed by her ever dutiful son, from a trust in that Providence who alone has and ever will, he doubts not, continue to watch over him with paternal care. Tell my sisters to *set tout* the *topping lifts* of their hearts, from an assurance that, with God's assistance, all will yet *end well.* Adieu, my beloved mother. Love to all, and *Hope!*

'Your truly dutiful and most filially affectionate son,

'P. Heywood.'

The last letter from his beloved Nessy, previous to the awful event, thus concludes:

'Adieu, my inestimable brother. My mamma sends her most tender love and anxious maternal wishes for your liberty and safety, and my brothers and sisters desire me to say every thing that is most expressive of boundless affection. May that Almighty Providence, whose tender care has hitherto preserved you, be still your bountiful Protector! May he instil into the hearts of your judges every sentiment of justice, generosity, and compassion!

May hope, innocence, and integrity be your firm support, and liberty, glory, and honour, your just reward! May all good angels guard you from even the appearance of danger! and may you at length be restored to us, the delight, the pride of your adoring friends, and the sole happiness and felicity of that fond heart which animates the bosom of my dear Peter's most faithful and truly affectionate sister,

'N. H.'

CHAPTER III.

On the 12th of September, 1792, the Court assembled on board His Majesty's ship Duke, to try the prisoners accused of mutiny.

In order to understand Mr. Heywood's defence, it is necessary to give those parts of the evidence which relate to him.

Mr. Fryer, the master of the Bounty, deposed, "That he did not perceive Mr. Peter Heywood on deck at the seizure of the ship."

Mr. Cole, boatswain, deposed, "That he saw Mr. Heywood, one of the prisoners, lending a hand to get the fore stayfalls along, and when the boatswain looked on, spoke something to him, but what it was does not know, as Christian was threatening him at the time. That Heywood then went below, and does not remember seeing him afterwards."

He then mentioned four prisoners, who were crying because they were not allowed to go in the boat with Bligh, and the Court then asked if he had any reason to believe that any other of the prisoners were detained contrary to their inclinations? *Ans.* "I be-

lieve Mr. Heywood was; I thought all along he was intending to come away; he had no arms, and was assisting to get the boat out, and then went below; I heard Churchill call out to keep them below.' *The Court*—'Do you think he meant Heywood?' 'I have no reason to think he meant any other.'

Mr. Purcell, carpenter, examined.—'Did you see Mr. Heywood standing upon the booms?'—'Yes, he was leaning the flat part of his hand upon a cutlass, when I exclaimed, In the name of God, Peter, what do you with that? when he instantly dropped it, and assisted in hoisting the launch out, and handing the things into the boat, and then went down below, when I heard Churchill call to Thompson to keep them below, but could not tell whom he meant; I did not see Mr. Heywood after that.'—*The Court*—'In what light did you look upon Mr. Heywood, at the time you say he dropped the cutlass on your speaking to him?' *Witness*—'I looked upon him as a person confused, and that he did not know that he had the weapon in his hand, or his hand being on it, for it was not in his hand; I considered him to be confused, by his instantly dropping it, and assisting in hoisting the boat out, which convinced me in my own mind that he had no hand in the conspiracy; that after this he went below, as I think, on his own account, in order to collect some of his things to put into the boat.' *The Court*—'Do you, upon the solemn oath you have taken, believe that Mr.

Heywood, by being armed with a cutlass at the time you have mentioned, by anything that you could collect from his gestures or speeches, had any intention of opposing, or joining others that might oppose, to stop the progress of the mutiny?' *Witness*—'No.' *The Court*—'In the time that Mr. Heywood was assisting you to get the things into the boat, did he, in any degree whatever, manifest a disposition to assist in the mutiny?' *Witness*—'No.' *The Court*—'Was he, during that time, deliberate or frightened, and in what manner did he behave himself?' *Witness*—'I had not an opportunity of observing his every action, being myself at that time engaged in getting several things into the boat, so that I cannot tell.' *The Court*—'Putting every circumstance together, declare to this court, upon the oath you have taken, how you considered his behaviour, whether as a person joined in the mutiny, or as a person wishing well to Captain Bligh?' *Witness*—'I by no means considered him as a person concerned in the mutiny or conspiracy.'

Lieutenant Thomas Hayward, late third lieutenant of the Pandora, and formerly midshipman of the Bounty, deposes, that Peter Heywood was unarmed on the booms. Having stated that when he went below to get some things, he saw Peter Heywood in his berth, and told him to go into the boat, he was asked by the Court, if Heywood was prevented by any force from going upon deck, he answered,

'No.' *The Court*—'Did you, from his behaviour, consider him as a person attached to his duty, or to the party of the mutineers?' *Witness*—'I should rather suppose, after my having told him to go into the boat, and he not joining us, to be on the side of the mutineers; but that must be understood only as an opinion, as he was not in the least employed during the active part of it.' *The Court*—'Did you observe any marks of joy or sorrow on his countenance or behaviour?' *Witness*—'Sorrow.'

Lieutenant Hallet, late midshipman of the Bounty, on being asked if he saw Peter Heywood on that day, he replied, once, on the platform, standing still and looking attentively towards Captain Bligh; never saw him under arms nor spoke to him; does not know if he offered to go in the boat, nor did he hear any one propose to him to go in the boat; that when standing on the platform, Captain Bligh said something to him, but what he did not hear, upon which Heywood laughed, turned round, and walked away.

Mr. Fryer, the master, called in and examined by Mr. Heywood.—'If you had been permitted, would you have stayed in the ship in preference to going into the boat?' *Witness*—'Yes.' *Prisoner*—'Had you stayed in the ship in expectation of re-taking her, was my conduct such, from the first moment you knew me to this, as would have induced you to intrust me with your design; and do you believe I would have favoured it, and given you all the assistance in my power?' *Witness*—'I believe he would: I should not have hesitated a mo-

ment in asking of him, when I had had an opportunity of opening my mind to him.'

The same question being put to *Mr. Cole*, the boatswain, *Mr. Peckover*, the gunner, and *Mr. Purcell*, the carpenter, they all answered in the affirmative.

Mr. Heywood asked, 'What was my general conduct, temper, and disposition on board the ship?' *Witness*—'Beloved by everybody, to the best of my recollection.' To the same question, *Mr. Cole* answers, 'Always a very good character.' *Mr. Peckover*—'The most amiable, and deserving of every one's esteem.' *Mr. Purcell*—'In every respect becoming the character of a gentleman, and such as merited the esteem of everybody.'

Mr. Cole being examined, gave his testimony—that he never saw Mr. Heywood armed; that he did not consider him of the mutineers' party; that he saw nothing of levity or apparent merriment in his conduct; that when he was below with Stewart, he heard Churchill call out, 'Keep them below,' and that he believes Heywood was one of the persons meant—has no doubt of it at all; that Bligh could not have spoken to him, when on the booms, loud enough to be heard; that Hayward was alarmed, and Hallet alarmed; that he by no means considers Heywood or Morrison as mutineers.

Mr. Purcell being examined, states—that, respecting the cutlass on which he saw Mr. Heywood's hand resting, he does not consider him as being an armed man; that he never thought him

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as of the mutineers' party; that he never heard Captain Bligh speak to him; that he thinks, from his situation, he could not have heard him; that he was by no means guilty of levity or apparent merriment; that he heard the master-at-arms call out to keep them below; that Mr. Hallet appeared to him to be very much confused; and that Mr. Hayward likewise appeared to be very much confused.

The Court asked,—'As you say you did not look upon the prisoner as a person armed, to what did you allude when you exclaimed, "Good God, Peter, what do you do with that!"' *Witness*—'I look upon it as an accidental thing.'

Captain Edwards, being asked by Heywood—'Did I surrender myself to you upon the arrival of the Pandora at Otaheite?' *Witness*—'Not to me, to the Lieutenant. I apprehend he put himself in my power. I always understood he came voluntarily; our boats were not in the water.' *Prisoner*—'Did I give you such information respecting myself and the Bounty as afterwards proved true?' *Witness*—'He gave me some information respecting the people on the island, that corroborated with Coleman's. I do not recollect the particular conversation, but in general it agreed with the account given by Coleman.' *Prisoner*—'When I told you that I went away the first time from Otaheite with the pirates, did I not at the same time inform you that it was not possible for me to separate myself from Christian, who would not permit any man of

the party to leave him at that time, lest, by giving intelligence, they might have been discovered whenever a ship should arrive?' *Witness*—'Yes, but I do not recollect the latter part of it, respecting giving intelligence.'

The Court having called on the prisoners, each separately, for his defence, Mr. Heywood delivered his as follows:—

'My lords and gentlemen of this honourable Court,—Your attention has already been sufficiently exercised in the painful narrative of this trial; it is therefore my duty to trespass further on it as little as possible.

'The crime of mutiny, for which I am now arraigned, is so seriously pregnant with every danger and mischief, that it makes the person so accused, in the eyes, not only of military men of every description, but of every nation, appear at once the object of unpardonable guilt and exemplary vengeance.

'In such a character it is my misfortune to appear before this tribunal, and no doubt I must have been gazed at with all that horror and indignation which the conspirators of such a mutiny as that in Captain Bligh's ship so immediately provoke; hard, then, indeed is my fate, that circumstances should so occur to point me out as one of them.

'Appearances, probably, are against me, but they are appearances only; for unless I may be deemed

guilty for feeling a repugnance at embracing death unnecessarily, I declare before this Court and the tribunal of Almighty God, I am innocent of the charge.

'I chose rather to defer asking any questions of the witnesses until I heard the whole of the evidence; as the charge itself, although I knew it generally, was not in its full extent, nor in particular points, made known to me before I heard it read by the Judge Advocate at the beginning of the trial; and I feel myself relieved by having adopted such a mode, as it enables me to set right a few particulars of a narrative which I had the honour to transmit to the Earl of Chatham, containing an account of all that passed on the fatal morning of the 28th of April, 1789, but which, from the confusion the ship was in during the mutiny, I might have mistaken, or from the errors of an imperfect recollection I might have misstated; the difference, however, will now be open to correction; and I have great satisfaction in observing, that the mistakes but very slightly respect my part of the transaction, and I shall consequently escape the imputation of endeavouring to save myself by imposing on my judges.

'When first this sad event took place I was sleeping in my hammock; nor, till the very moment of being awakened from it, had I the least intimation of what was going on. The spectacle was as sudden to my eyes, as it was unknown to my heart; and both were convulsed at the scene.

'Matthew Thompson was the first that claimed my attention upon waking: he was sitting as a sentinel over the arm-chest and my berth, and informed me that the captain was a prisoner, and Christian had taken the command of the ship. I entreated for permission to go upon deck; and soon after the boatswain and carpenter had seen me in my berth, as they were going up the fore-hatchway, I followed them, as is stated in their evidence. It is not in my power to describe my feelings upon seeing the captain as I did, who, with his hands tied behind him, was standing on the quarter-deck, a little abaft the mizen-mast, and Christian by his side. My faculties were benumbed, and I did not recover the power of recollection until called to by somebody to take hold of the tackle-fall, and assist to get out the launch, which I found was to be given to the captain instead of the large cutter, already in the water alongside the ship. It were in vain to say what things I put into the boat, but many were handed in by me; and in doing this it was that my hand touched the cutlass, (for I will not attempt to deny what the carpenter has deposed,) though, on my conscience, I am persuaded it was of momentary duration, and innocent as to intention. The former is evident, from its being unobserved by every witness who saw me upon deck, some of whom must have noticed it had it continued a single minute; and the latter is proved by the only person who took notice of the circumstance, and has also

deposed that, at the moment he beheld me, I was apparently in a state of absolute stupor. The poison, therefore, carries with it its antidote; and it seems needless to make any further comment on the subject, for no man can be weak enough to suppose, that if I had been armed for the purpose of assisting in the mutiny, I should have resumed a weapon in the moment of triumph, and when the ship was so completely in the possession of the party, that (as more than one witness has emphatically expressed it) all attempts at recovering her would have been impracticable.

'The boat and ship, it is true, presented themselves to me without its once occurring that I was at liberty to choose, much less that the choice I should make would be afterwards deemed criminal; and I bitterly deplore that my extreme youth and inexperience concurred in torturing me with apprehensions, and prevented me from preferring the former; for as things have turned out, it would have saved me from the disgrace of appearing before you as I do at this day—it would have spared the sharp conflicts of my own mind ever since, and the agonizing tears of a tender mother and my much-beloved sisters.

'Add to my youth and inexperience, that I was influenced in my conduct by the example of my messmates, Mr. Hallet and Mr. Hayward, the former of whom was very much agitated, and the latter, though he had been many years at sea, yet,

when Christian ordered him into the boat, was evidently alarmed at the perilous situation, and so much overcome by the harsh command, that he actually shed tears.

'My own apprehensions were far from being lessened at such a circumstance as this, and I fearfully beheld the preparations for the captain's departure as the preliminaries of inevitable destruction, which, although I did not think could be more certain, yet I feared would be more speedy, by the least addition to their number.

'To shew that I have no disposition to impose upon this Court, by endeavouring to paint the situation of the boat to be worse than it really was, I need only refer to the captain's own narrative, wherein he says that she would have sunk with them on the evening of the 3rd May, had it not been for his timely caution of throwing out some of the stores, and all the clothes belonging to the people, excepting two suits for each.

'Now what clothes or stores could they have spared which in weight would have been equal to that of two men? (for if I had been in her, and the poor fellow, Norton, had not been murdered at Tofoa, she would have been encumbered with our additional weight); and if it be true that she was saved by those means, which the captain says she was, it must follow that if Norton and myself had been in her (to say nothing of Coleman, M'Intosh, Norman, and Byrne, who, 'tis confessed, were desi-

rous of leaving the ship), she must either have gone down with us, or, to prevent it, we must have lightened her of the provisions and other necessary articles, and thereby have perished for want—dreadful alternative!

'A choice of deaths to those who are certain of dying may be a matter of indifference; but where, on one hand, death appears inevitable, and the means of salvation present themselves on the other, however imprudent it might be to resort to those means in any other less trying situation, I think (and hope even at my present time of life), that I shall not be suspected of a want of courage for saying, few would hesitate to embrace the latter.

'Such, then, was exactly my situation on board the Bounty; to be starved to death or drowned appeared to be inevitable if I went in the boat; and surely it is not to be wondered at, if, at the age of sixteen years, with no one to advise with, and so ignorant of the discipline of the service (having never been at sea before) as not to know or even suppose it was possible that what I should determine upon might afterwards be alleged against me as a crime—I say, under such circumstances, in so trying a situation, can it be wondered at if I suffered the preservation of my life to be the first, and to supersede every other, consideration?

'Besides, through the medium of the master, the captain had directed the rest of the officers to remain on board, in hopes of re-taking the ship. Such

is the master's assertion, and such the report on board, and as it accorded with my own wishes for the preservation of my life, I felt myself doubly justified in staying on board, not only as it appeared to be safer than going in the boat, but from a consideration also of being in the way to be useful in assisting to accomplish so desirable a wish of the captain.

'Let it not—for God's sake—let it not be argued that my fears were groundless, and that the arrival of the boat at Timor is a proof that my conduct was wrong. This would be judging from the event, and I think I have plainly shewn that, but for the death of Norton, at Tofoa, and the prudent order of the captain not to overload the boat, neither himself nor any of the people who were saved with him would at this moment have been alive to have preferred any charge against me, or given evidence at this trial.

'If deliberate guilt be necessarily affixed to all who continued on board the ship, and that in consequence they must be numbered with Christian's party—in such a strict view of matters it must irrevocably impeach the armourer and two carpenters' mates, as well as Martin and Byrne, who certainly wished to quit the ship. And if Christian's first intention of sending away the captain, with a few persons only, in the small cutter, had not been given up, or if even the large cutter had not been exchanged for a launch, more than half of those who

did go with him would have been obliged to stay with me. Forgetful, for a moment, of my own misfortunes, I cannot help being agitated at the bare thought of their narrow escape.

'Every body must, and I am sure that this Court will, allow that my case is a peculiarly hard one, inasmuch as the running away with the ship is a proof of the mutiny having been committed. The innocent and the guilty are upon exactly the same footing—had the former been confined by sickness, without a leg to stand on, or an arm to assist them in opposing the mutineers, they must have been put upon their trial, and instead of the captain being obliged to prove their guilt, it would have been incumbent upon them to have proved themselves innocent. How can this be done but negatively? If all who wished it could not accompany the captain, they were necessarily compelled to stay with Christian; and being with him, were dependent on him, subject to his orders, however disinclined to obey them, for force in such a state is paramount to every thing. But when, on the contrary, instead of being in arms, or obeying any orders of the mutineers, I did every thing in my power to assist the captain and those who went with him, and by all my actions (except in neglecting to do what, if I had done, must have endangered the lives of those who were so fortunate as to quit the ship) I shewed myself faithful to the last moment of the captain's stay, what is there to leave a doubt in the minds of im-

partial and dispassionate men of my being perfectly innocent? Happy indeed should I have been if the master had stayed on board, which he probably would have done if his reasons for wishing to do so had not been overheard by the man who was in the bread-room.

'Captain Bligh, in his narrative, acknowledges that he had left some friends on board the Bounty, and no part of my conduct could have induced him to believe that I ought not to be reckoned of the number. Indeed, from his attention to and very kind treatment of me personally, I should have been a monster of depravity to have betrayed him. The idea alone is sufficient to disturb a mind where humanity and gratitude have, I hope, ever been noticed as its characteristic features; and yet Mr. Hallet has said that he saw me laugh at a time when, Heaven knows, the conflict in my own mind, independent of the captain's situation, rendered such a want of decency impossible. The charge in its nature is dreadful, but I boldly declare, notwithstanding an internal conviction of my innocence has enabled me to endure my sufferings for the last sixteen months, could I have laid to my heart so heavy an accusation, I should not have lived to defend myself from it. And this brings to my recollection another part of Captain Bligh's narrative, in which he says, "I was kept apart from every one, and all I could do was by speaking to them in general; but my endeavours were of no avail, for I was kept securely

bound, and no one but the guard was suffered to come near me."

'If the captain, whose narrative we may suppose to have been a detail of every thing which happened, could only recollect that he had spoken generally to the people, I trust it will hardly be believed that Mr. Hallet, without notes, at so distant a period as this, should be capable of recollecting that he heard him speak to any one in particular; and here it may not be improper to observe that, at the time to which I allude, Mr. Hallet (if I am rightly informed) could not have been more than fifteen years of age. I mean not to impeach his courage, but I think if circumstances be considered, and an adequate idea of the confused state of the ship can be formed by this Court, it will not appear probable that this young gentleman should have been so perfectly unembarrassed as to have been able to particularize the muscles of a man's countenance, even at a considerable distance from him; and what is still more extraordinary is, that he heard the captain call to me from abaft the mizen to the platform where I was standing, which required an exertion of voice, and must have been heard and noticed by all who were present, as the captain and Christian were at that awful moment the object of every one's peculiar attention; yet he who was standing between us, and noticing the transactions of us both, could not hear what was said.

'To me it has ever occurred that diffidence is very becoming, and of all human attainments a knowledge of ourselves is the most difficult; and if, in the ordinary course of life, it is not an easy matter precisely to account for our own actions, how much more difficult and hazardous must it be in new and momentous scenes, when the mind is hurried and distressed by conflicting passions, to judge of another's conduct! and yet here are two young men, who, after a lapse of near four years, (in which period one of them, like myself, has grown from a boy to be a man,) without hesitation, in a matter on which my life is depending, undertake to account for some of my actions, at a time too when some of the most experienced officers in the ship are not ashamed to acknowledge they were overcome by the confusion which the mutiny occasioned, and are incapable of recollecting a number of their own transactions on that day.

'I can only oppose to such open boldness the calm suggestions of reason, and would willingly be persuaded that the impression under which this evidence has been given is not in any degree open to suspicion. I would be understood, at the same time, not to mean any thing injurious to the character of Mr. Hallet; and for Mr. Hayward, I ever loved him, and must do him the justice to declare, that whatever cause I may have to deplore the effect of his evidence, or rather his opinion, for he

has deposed no fact against me, yet I am convinced it was given conscientiously, and with a tenderness and feeling becoming a man of honour.

'But may they not both be mistaken? Let it be remembered that their long intimacy with Captain Bligh, in whose distresses they were partakers, and whose sufferings were severely felt by them, naturally begot an abhorrence towards those whom they thought the authors of their misery;—might they not forget that the story had been told to them, and by first of all believing, then constantly thinking of it, be persuaded at last it was a fact within the compass of their own knowledge?

'It is the more natural to believe it is so, from Mr. Hallet's forgetting what the captain said upon the occasion, which, had he been so collected as he pretends to have been, he certainly must have heard. Mr. Hayward also, it is evident, has made a mistake in point of time as to the seeing me with Morrison and Millward upon the booms; for the boatswain and carpenter in their evidence have said, and the concurring testimony of every one supports the fact, that the mutiny had taken place, and the captain was on deck, before they came up; and it was not till after that time that the boatswain called Morrison and Millward out of their hammocks; therefore to have seen me at all upon the booms with those two men, it must have been long after the time that Mr. Hayward has said it was. Again, Mr. Hayward has said that he could not recollect

the day nor even the month when the Pandora arrived at Otaheite. Neither did Captain Edwards recollect when, on his return, he wrote to the Admiralty that Michael Byrne had surrendered himself as one of the Bounty's people, but in that letter he reported him as having been apprehended, which plainly shews that the memory is fallible to a very great degree; and it is a fair conclusion to draw, that, if when the mind is at rest, which must have been the case with Mr. Hayward in the Pandora, and things of a few months' date are difficult to be remembered, it is next to impossible, in the state in which every body was on board the Bounty, to remember their particular actions at the distance of three years and a half after they were observed.

'As to the advice he says he gave me, to go into the boat, I can only say, I have a faint recollection of a short conversation with somebody,—I thought it was Mr. Stewart—but, be that as it may, I think I may take upon me to say it was on deck, and not below, for on hearing it suggested that I should be deemed guilty if I stayed in the ship, I went down directly, and in passing Mr. Cole, told him, in a low tone of voice, that I would fetch a few necessaries in a bag and follow him into the boat, which at that time I meant to do, but was afterwards prevented.

'Surely I shall not be deemed criminal that I hesitated at getting into a boat whose gunnel, when she left the ship, was not quite eight inches above

the surface of the water! And if, in the moment of unexpected trial, fear and confusion assailed my untaught judgment, and, by remaining in the ship, I appeared to deny my commander, it was in appearance only—it was the sin of my head—for I solemnly assure you before God, that it was not the vileness of my heart.

'I was surprised into my error by a mixture of ignorance, apprehension, and the prevalence of example; and alarmed as I was from my sleep, there was little opportunity and less time for better recollection. The captain, I am persuaded, did not see me during the mutiny, for I retired, as it were, in sorrowful suspense, alternately agitated between hope and fear, not knowing what to do. The dread of being asked by him, or of being ordered by Christian, to go into the boat,—or, which appeared to me worse than either,—of being desired by the latter to join his party, induced me to keep out of the sight of both, until I was a second time confined in my berth by Thompson, when the determination I had made was too late to be useful.

'One instance of my conduct I had nearly forgot, which, with much anxiety and great astonishment, I have heard observed upon, and considered as a fault, though I had imagined it blameless, if not laudable—I mean the assistance I gave in hoisting out the launch, which, by a mode of expression of the boatswain's, who says I did it voluntarily (meaning that I did not refuse my

assistance when he asked me to give it), the Court I am afraid, has considered as giving assistance to the mutineers, and not done with a view to help the captain; of which, however, I have no doubt of being able to give a satisfactory explanation in evidence.

'Observations on matters of opinion I will endeavour to forbear where they appear to have been formed from the impulse of the moment; but I shall be pardoned for remembering Mr. Hayward's (given I will allow with great deliberation, and after long weighing the question which called for it), which cannot be reckoned of that description; for although he says he rather considered me as a friend to Christian's party, he states that his last words to me were, "Peter, go into the boat," which words could not have been addressed to one who was of the party of the mutineers. And I am sure, if the countenance is at all an index to the heart, mine must have betrayed the sorrow and distress which he has so accurately described.

'It were trespassing unnecessarily upon the patience of the Court, to be giving a tedious history of what happened in consequence of the mutiny, and how, through one very imprudent step, I was unavoidably led into others.

'But, amidst all this pilgrimage of distress, I had a conscience, thank heaven, which lulled away the pain of personal difficulties, dangers, and distress. It was this conscious principle which de-

termined me not to hide myself as if guilty. No —I welcomed the arrival of the Pandora at Otaheite, and embraced the earliest opportunity of freely surrendering myself to the captain of that ship.

'By his order I was chained and punished with incredible severity, though the ship was threatened with instant destruction: when fear and trembling came on every man on board, in vain, for a long time, were my earnest repeated cries, that the galling irons might not, in that moment of affrighting consternation, prevent my hands from being lifted up to heaven for mercy.

'But though it cannot fail deeply to interest the humanity of this Court, and kindle in the breast of every member of it compassion for my sufferings, yet as it is not relative to the point, and as I cannot for a moment believe that it proceeded from any improper motive on the part of Captain Edwards, whose character in the navy stands high in estimation both as an officer and a man of humanity, but rather that he was actuated in his conduct towards me by the imperious dictates of the laws of the service, I shall, therefore, waive it, and say no more upon the subject.

'Believe me, again I entreat you will believe me, when, in the name of the tremendous Judge of heaven and earth (before whose vindictive Majesty I may be destined soon to appear), I now assert my innocence of plotting, abetting, or assisting, either

by word or deed, the mutiny for which I am tried—for, young as I am, I am still younger in the school of art and such matured infamy.

'My parents (but I have only one left, a solitary and mournful mother, who is at home weeping and trembling for the event of this day), thanks to their fostering care, taught me betimes to reverence God, to honour the king, and be obedient to his laws; and at no one time have I resolutely or designedly been an apostate to either.

'To this honourable Court, then, I now commit myself.

'My character and my life are at your disposal; and as the former is as sacred to me as the latter is precious, the consolation or settled misery of a dear mother and two sisters, who mingle their tears together, and are all but frantic for my situation—pause for your verdict.

'If I am found worthy of life, it shall be improved by past experience, and especially taught from the serious lesson of what has lately happened; but if nothing but death itself can atone for my pitiable indiscretion, I bow with submission and all due respect to your impartial decision.

'Not with sullen indifference shall I then meditate on my doom as not deserving it—no, such behaviour would be an insult to God and an affront to man, and the attentive and candid deportment of my judges in this place requires more becoming manners in me.

'Yet, if I am found guilty this day, they will not construe it, I trust, as the least disrespect offered to their discernment and opinion, if I solemnly declare that my heart will rely with confidence in its own innocence, until that awful period when my spirit shall be about to be separated from my body to take its everlasting flight, and be ushered into the presence of that unerring Judge, before whom all hearts are open and from whom no secrets are hid.

'P. HEYWOOD.'

His witnesses fully established the facts which he assumed in this defence. He then delivered to the president a paper, of which the following is a copy:—

'My Lord,—the Court having heard the witnesses I have been enabled to call, it will be unnecessary to add any thing to their testimony in point of fact, or to observe upon it by way of illustration. It is, I trust, sufficient to do away any suspicion which may have fallen upon me, and to remove every implication of guilt which, while unexplained, might by possibility have attached to me. It is true I have, by the absence of Captain Bligh, Simpson, and Tinkler, been deprived of the opportunity of laying before the Court much that would at least have been grateful to my feelings, though, I hope, not necessary to my defence; as the former must have exculpated me from the least disrespect, and the two last would have proved, past

all contradiction, that I was unjustly accused. I might regret that in their absence I have been arraigned, but, thank heaven, I have been enabled by the very witnesses who were called to criminate me, to oppose facts to opinions, and give explanation to circumstances of suspicion.

'It has been proved that I was asleep at the time of the mutiny, and waked only to confusion and dismay. It has been proved, it is true, that I continued on board the ship, but it has been also proved I was detained by force; and to this I must add, I left the society of those with whom I was for a time obliged to associate, as soon as possible, and with unbounded satisfaction resigned myself to the Captain of the Pandora, to whom I gave myself up, to whom I also delivered my journal * (faithfully brought up to the preceding day), and to whom I also gave every information in my power. I could do no more; for at the first time we were at Otaheite it was impossible for me, watched and suspected as I was, to separate from the ship. My information to Captain Edwards was open, sincere, and unqualified, and I had many opportunities given me at different times of repeating it. Had a track been open to my native country, I should have followed it; had a vessel arrived earlier, I should earlier, with the same eagerness, have embraced the opportunity, for I dreaded not an inquiry

* This journal, it is presumed must have been lost when the Pandora was wrecked.

in which I foresaw no discredit. But Providence ordained it otherwise. I have been the victim of suspicion, and had nearly fallen a sacrifice to misapprehension. I have, however, hitherto surmounted it, and it only remains with this Court to say if my sufferings have not been equal to my indiscretion.

'The decision will be the voice of honour, and to that I must implicitly resign myself.

'P. HEYWOOD.'

When the nature of the evidence and this excellent and manly defence are considered, it will appear surprising that the prisoner was not acquitted. But the misfortunes of Mr. Heywood's youth and the distresses of his family were consummated by having sentence of death passed upon him, although tempered with the recommendation to the King's mercy. It was a very common feeling that he was hardly dealt with by the Court. 'It should, however, be recollected,' says the author of the History of the Mutiny, 'that the Court had no discretional power to pass any other sentence but that or a full acquittal. But earnestly, no doubt, as the Court was disposed towards the latter alternative, it could not, consistently with the rules and feelings of the service, be adopted. It is not enough, in cases of mutiny, (and this case was aggravated by the piratical seizure of a king's ship,) that the officers and men in his Majesty's service should take no active part—to be neutral or passive is consi-

dered as tantamount to aiding and abetting. Besides, in the present case, the remaining in the ship along with the mutineers, without having recourse to such means as offered of leaving her, presumes a voluntary adhesion to the criminal party. The only fault of Heywood, and a pardonable one, on account of his youth and inexperience, was his not asking Christian to be allowed to go with his captain—his not *trying* to go in time.' Four of the prisoners, tried on the same occasion, were acquitted, because they expressed a strong desire to go, but were forced to remain. They were in possession of written testimonies from Bligh to that effect, and so would Heywood have been but for some prejudice Bligh had taken against him in the course of the last voyage home, for it will be shewn that he knew he was confined to his berth below.'

Allowing to these remarks the weight they deserve, it is only one instance amongst many of the imperfection of human laws, and how often an adherence to their letter, is a violation rather than fulfilment of justice. In the mind of every impartial person, the subject of this memoir must be acquitted not only of participation in the mutiny, but of any thing dishonourable in his conduct. Indeed, it is probable that if Christian, the violent leader of the mutiny, had entertained the same respect for the midshipmen whom he forced away as for Heywood who was forced at last to remain,—had he felt that they would be equally useful in the subsequent ma-

nagement of the ship, the prisoner and the witnesses whose evidence was the most unfavourable, might have exactly reversed their relative situations.

The family of young Heywood, in the Isle of Man, had been buoyed up, from various quarters, with the almost certainty of his full acquittal. From the 12th September, when the court-martial first sat, till the 24th of that month, they were prevented, by the strong and contrary winds which cut off all communication with England, from receiving any tidings whatever. But while Mrs. Heywood and her daughters were fondly flattering themselves with every thing being most happily concluded, one evening, as they were indulging these pleasing hopes, a little boy, the son of one of their particular friends, ran into the room and told them, in the most abrupt manner, that the trial was over, and all the prisoners condemned, but that Peter Heywood was recommended to mercy; he added, that a man, whose name he mentioned, had told him this. The man was sent for, questioned, and replied he had seen it in a newspaper at Liverpool, from which place he was just arrived in a small fishing-boat, but had forgotten to bring the paper with him. In this state of dreadful uncertainty, this wretched family remained another whole week, harassed by agonies of mind which no language can express.* During

* It was in this state of mind, while in momentary expectation of receiving an account of the termination of the court-martial, that Heywood's charming sister Nessy wrote the following lines:—

all that time the wind continued contrary, and the packet still remained at Whitehaven. Mr. J. Heywood had a few days before gone again to Liverpool, and on Thursday night the following letter was received from him.

'*Liverpool, Sept.* 24, 1792.

'DEAR NESSY,

'I arrived here, after a disagreeable passage, and immediately went to see the papers, where I found the inclosed. (The paragraph mentioned above.) You, by this time, must have heard the same disagreeable news. How and what can have been the evidence against him is to me astonishing. I had

'ANXIETY.

'Doubting, dreading, fretful guest,
Quit, oh! quit this mortal breast.
Why wilt thou my peace invade,
And each brighter prospect shade?
Pain me not with needless Fear,
But let Hope my bosom cheer;
While I court her gentle charms,
Woo the flatterer to my arms;
While each moment she beguiles
With her sweet enliv'ning smiles,
While she softly whispers me,
"Lycidas again is free,"
While I gaze on Pleasure's gleam,
Say not thou, "'Tis all a dream."
Hence—nor darken Joy's soft bloom
With thy pale and sickly gloom:
Nought have I to do with thee—
Hence—begone—Anxiety.

'NESSY HEYWOOD.

'*Isle of Man, September* 10*th.*

some thoughts of going to London last night, and thence to Portsmouth, but thinking you might wish to go up with me, I shall wait till I hear from or see you. Adieu! dear Nessy; remember me to all at home.

'Your affectionate brother,

'J. H.'

To this the following is a reply:

'*Isle of Man, Sept.* 29, 1792.

'My dearest James,

'There is a vessel going to Liverpool this instant, and I have but a moment to tell you that I received yours on Thursday night; till then we had heard nothing but by report. The packet is not yet arrived, and our friends will not let me go from hence till she brings some certain news. We are in an agony of suspense, and I can scarcely support my own misery, much less keep up mamma's dejected spirits. If there is the least apprehension entertained by the people of Liverpool for his life—go, for heaven's sake, to Portsmouth, without waiting for me. 'Tis true your being there can do him no essential service, nor will his friends leave any thing undone for him, but 'tis natural to suppose he must wish to see some of his own family. It is, however, some comfort that I am able to assure you that every person here to whom we have spoken on the subject, agrees in opinion that there is not the

smallest danger—that his being found guilty is not because any thing has been proved against him, but because he, poor fellow, was not able to bring evidence sufficiently strong of his innocence,—that a recommendation from a court-martial to mercy is exactly the same as an acquittal in any other court; for the martial law is so strict and severe that there is no medium between acquittal and death—that there is no instance upon which a pardon from that recommendation has been refused, and that it is asked not as a matter of favour merely, but of justice from the executive power, which is the only way of mitigating too severe a law. This is the opinion here; but we have hoped too long, and have too much at stake to be satisfied with conjecture, however well-founded, nor can any thing but a certainty, from his own letters, still our violent apprehensions. This is a calm day, and I hope the packet will at length make her appearance. If she brings not a *certainty* of his safety, I shall set off for Liverpool immediately—but if you have a doubt of *that*, I again repeat it, do not wait for me. I can go alone. Fear, and even despair, will, in that case, support me through the journey. Yet, if I could listen to reason, which is at present indeed difficult, it is not likely that any thing serious has taken place or will do so, as we should then certainly have had an express. But, my dear James, act as your affection and judgment shall dictate, and

think only of our poor unfortunate and adored boy. The vessel waits.

'Your most affectionate sister,

'N. H.'

The packet arrived the same night at twelve o'clock, (Saturday 29th,) and Mrs. Heywood received the following letter from Mrs. Bertie:

'*Portsmouth, September* 18, 1792.

'MY DEAR MADAM,

'I have the happiness of telling you that the court-martial is this moment over, and that I think your son's life is more safe now than it was before his trial. As there was not sufficient proof of his innocence, the Court could not avoid condemning him; but he is so STRONGLY recommended to MERCY, that I am desired to assure you by those who are judges, that his life is *safe;* all the principal officers of the Bounty, who were called as evidence, gave him the highest character imaginable; therefore, for God's sake, believe nothing but what you hear from hence. * * My dear Madam, keep yourself up as well as you can. Rely on it that God, who has preserved him through all his dangers and sufferings to this day, will not now forsake him. Adieu, my dear Madam. Depend on it, I have told you the honest truth, and hope every thing. Believe me your sincere friend,

'E. B.'

Early on Sunday morning Dr. Scott called on Mrs. Heywood's family, and brought the following letter, which he had received by the same packet:

AARON GRAHAM, ESQ., *to* DR. SCOTT.

'*Portsmouth, Tuesday, Sept.* 18*th.*

'SIR,

'Although a stranger, I make no apology in writing to you. I have attended and given my assistance at Mr. Heywood's trial, which was finished and the sentence passed about half an hour ago. Before I tell you what that sentence is, I must inform you that his life is safe, notwithstanding it is at present at the mercy of the king, to which he is in the strongest terms recommended by the Court. That any unnecessary fears may not be productive of misery to the family, I must add, that the king's attorney-general (who with Judge Ashurst attended the trial) desired me to make myself perfectly easy, for that my friend was as safe as if he had not been condemned. I would have avoided making use of this dreadful word, but it must have come to your knowledge, and perhaps unaccompanied by many others of a pleasing kind. To prevent its being improperly communicated to Mrs. or the Misses Heywood, whose distresses first engaged me in the business, and could not fail to call forth my best exertions upon the occasion, I send you this by express. The mode of communication I must leave to your discretion; and shall only add that, although

from a combination of circumstances, ill-nature, and mistaken friendship, the sentence is in itself terrible, yet it is incumbent on me to assure you that, from the same combination of circumstances, every body who attended the trial is perfectly satisfied in his own mind that he was *hardly guilty in appearance, in intention he was perfectly innocent.* I shall of course write to Commodore Pasley, whose mind, from my letter to him of yesterday, must be dreadfully agitated, and take his advice about what is to be done when Mr. Heywood is released. I shall stay here till then, and my intention is afterwards to take him to my house in town, where I think he had better stay till one of the family calls for him: for he will require a great deal of tender management after all his sufferings; and it would, perhaps, be a necessary preparation for seeing his mother, that one or both his sisters should be previously prepared to support her on so trying an occasion.'

On the following day Mr. Graham again writes to Dr. Scott, and among other things observes, 'It will be a great satisfaction to his family to learn, that the declarations of some of the other prisoners, since the trial, put it past all doubt that the evidence upon which he was convicted must have been (to say nothing worse of it) an unfortunate belief, on the part of the witness, of circumstances which either never had existence, or were applicable to

one of the other gentlemen who remained in the ship, and not to Mr. Heywood.'*

On the 20th September Mr. Heywood addresses the first letter he wrote, after his conviction, to Dr. Scott.

'HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,

'On Wednesday, the 12th instant, the awful trial commenced, and on *that* day, *when in Court*, I had the pleasure of receiving your most kind and parental letter; in answer to which I now communicate to you the melancholy issue of it, which, as I desired my friend Mr. Graham to inform you of immediately, will be no dreadful news to you. The morning lowers, and all my hope of worldly joy is fled. On Tuesday morning, the 18th, the dreadful sentence of death was pronounced upon me, to which (being the just decree of that Divine Providence who first gave me breath) I bow my devoted head, with that fortitude, cheerfulness, and resignation, which is the duty of every member of the church of our blessed Saviour and Redeemer Christ Jesus. To Him alone I now look up for succour, in full hope that perhaps a few days more will open to the view of my astonished and fearful soul his kingdom of eternal and incomprehensible bliss, prepared only for the righteous of heart.

'I have not been found guilty of the slightest act

* This is supposed to allude to the evidence given by Hallet.

connected with that detestable crime of mutiny, but am doomed to die for not being active in my endeavours to suppress it. Could the witnesses who appeared on the Court-martial be themselves tried, *they* would also suffer for the very same and only crime of which I have been found guilty. But I am to be the victim. Alas! my youthful inexperience, and no depravity of will, is the sole cause to which I can attribute my misfortunes. But so far from repining at my fate, I receive it with a dreadful kind of joy, composure, and serenity of mind; well assured that it has pleased God to point me out as a subject through which some greatly useful (though at present unsearchable) intention of the divine attributes may be carried into execution for the future benefit of my country. Then why should I repine at being made a sacrifice for the good, perhaps, of thousands of my fellow-creatures? Forbid it, Heaven! Why should I be sorry to leave a world in which I have met with nothing but misfortunes and all their concomitant evils? I shall, on the contrary, endeavour to divest myself of all wishes for the futile and sublunary enjoyments of it, and prepare my soul for its reception into the bosom of its Redeemer. For though the very strong recommendation I have had to his Majesty's mercy by all the members of the Court may meet with his approbation, yet that is but the balance of a straw, a mere uncertainty, upon which no hope can be built; the other is a certainty that must one day happen

to every mortal, and therefore the salvation of my soul requires my most prompt and powerful exertions during the short time I may have to remain on earth.

'As this is too tender a subject for me to inform my unhappy and distressed mother and sisters of, I trust, dear Sir, you will either shew them this letter, or make known to them the truly dreadful intelligence in such a manner as (assisted by your wholesome and paternal advice) may enable them to bear it with Christian fortitude. The only worldly feelings I am now possessed of are for their happiness and welfare; but even these, in my present situation, I must endeavour, with God's assistance, to eradicate from my heart, how hard soever the task. I must strive against cherishing any temporal affections. But, my dear Sir, endeavour to mitigate my distressed mother's sorrow. Give my everlasting duty to her, and unabated love to my disconsolate brothers and sisters, and all my other relations. Encourage them, by my example, to bear up with fortitude and resignation to the Divine Will, under their load of misfortunes, almost too great for female nature to support, and teach them to be fully persuaded that all hopes of happiness on earth are vain. On my own account I still enjoy the most easy serenity of mind; and am, dear Sir, for ever your greatly indebted and most dutiful, but ill-fated,

'PETER HEYWOOD.'

His next letter is to his dearly-beloved Nessy.

'Had I not a strong idea that, ere this mournful epistle from your ill-fated brother can reach the trembling hand of my ever dear and much-afflicted Nessy, she must have been informed of the final issue of my trial on Wednesday morning, by my honoured friend Dr. Scott, I would not now add trouble to the afflicted by a confirmation of it. Though I have indeed fallen an early victim to the rigid rules of the service, and though the jaws of death are once more opened upon me, yet do I not now, nor ever will, bow to the tyranny of base-born fear. Conscious of having done my duty to God and man, I feel not one moment's anxiety on my own account, but cherish a full and sanguine hope that perhaps a few days more will free me from the load of misfortune which has ever been my portion in this transient period of existence; and that I shall find an everlasting asylum in those blessed regions of eternal bliss, where the galling yoke of tyranny and oppression is felt no more.

'If earthly Majesty, to whose mercy I have been recommended by the Court, should refuse to put forth its lenient hand and rescue me from what is *fancifully* called an ignominious death, there is a heavenly King and Redeemer ready to receive the righteous penitent, on whose gracious mercy alone I, as we all should, depend, with that pious resignation which is the duty of every Christian; well

convinced that, without his express permission, not even a hair of our head can fall to the ground.

'Oh! my sister, my heart yearns when I picture to myself the affliction, indescribable affliction, which this melancholy intelligence must have caused in the mind of my much-honoured mother. But let it be your peculiar endeavour to watch over her grief and mitigate her pain. I hope, indeed, this little advice from me will be unnecessary; for I know the holy precepts of that inspired religion, which, thank Heaven! have been implanted in the bosoms of us all, will point out to you, and all my dear relatives, that fortitude and resignation which are required of us in the conflicts of human nature, and prevent you from arraigning the wisdom of that Omniscient Providence, of which we ought all to have the fullest sense.

'I have had all my dear Nessy's letters; the one of the 17th this morning; but, alas! what do they now avail? Their contents only serve to prove the instability of all human hopes and expectations. But, my dear sister, I begin to feel the pangs which you must suffer from the perusal of this melancholy paper, and will therefore desist, for I know it is more than your nature can support. The contrast between last week's correspondence and this is great indeed; but why? We had only hope then; and have we not the same now? Certainly. Endeavour then, my love, to cherish that hope, and with faith

rely upon the mercy of that God who does as to him seems best and most conducive to the general good of his miserable creatures.

'Bear it, then, with Christian patience, and instil into the mind of my dear and now sorrowful sisters, by your advice, the same disposition; and, for Heaven's sake, let not despair touch the soul of my dear mother—for then all would be over. Let James also employ all his efforts to cheer her spirits under her weight of woe. I will write no more. Adieu, my dearest love! Write but little to me, and pray for your ever affectionate but ill-fated brother.

'P.S. I am in perfect spirits, therefore let not your sympathizing feelings for my sufferings hurt your own precious health, which is dearer to me than life itself. Adieu!'

This beautiful spirit of resignation and piety did not shine forth merely in his letters. The friends who visited him, and among them especially Lieut. Spranger and Mr. Delafons, admired and testified the manly and unshaken fortitude which characterized all his behaviour at this melancholy time. The following letter to his mother is perhaps the most touching:

'*September* 29, 1792.

'I would not now write to my dear and much-honoured mother, were I not apprehensive that, from my silence, she might entertain a supposition

that I am unable to do that duty, by being too much oppressed with the weight of my own misfortunes. But, my dear mother, harbour not such a thought! Think not that I am in the smallest degree uneasy in my mind with respect to *my own* situation. The only anxiety I can at any time feel is, when I picture to myself the truly distressed state into which the relation of the past unhappy *conclusion* must have thrown you and all my beloved sisters. But let pious resignation to the Divine Will eradicate all despairing ideas, or any thoughts that may even look like an appearance of arraigning the all-wise decrees of unerring Providence. For that God who gave me the life I now enjoy, will, I am conscious, if he sees it best for my future interest, permit me to enjoy it still, in spite of all that man can say or do. But if he judges it proper for me to lay it down, I think I can, with the greatest resignation, and a full hope of his mercy, comply most cheerfully with his demand.—My only desire is to ease my dear mother's mind, which I hope will be the case, when I tell her from my soul I am happy, and may yet be more so. But let us not entertain too sanguine hopes, lest we should again be disappointed.

'Be assured, I shall ever act as worthy of the family from which I am sprung, and the name of, dear mother,

'Your dutiful and resigned son,

'P. H.

Just before the receipt of this letter, a short one came from their kind friend, Mr. Graham, to say that necessary business obliged him to leave Portsmouth for London; and Mrs. Heywood's friends, for the situation of her mind rendered *her* almost incapable of thinking, judged it improper to hesitate a moment longer in accepting Mr. Graham's invitation, made in a former letter, that one or both of her daughters should pay him a visit in town. It was determined that Miss N. Heywood should go to England without delay. On Monday the 1st of October, therefore, while at breakfast, she was informed that a small fishing-boat would sail for Liverpool in half an hour; and as her impatience to be near her unfortunate brother could only be equalled by her distress on his account, she seized the opportunity (with a contrary wind and very bad weather) of flying to him. 'We did not arrive here,' she says in a letter to her friends, from Liverpool on the 3rd of October, 'till noon this day, after a most tempestuous passage of forty-nine hours, with the wind directly contrary the whole way. Yet, notwithstanding that vexatious circumstance, *hard boards*, (for I could not prevail upon myself to enter one of their dirty close beds,) and aching bones, together with passing two nights almost without closing my eyes, let me but be blessed with the cheering influence of hope, and I have a spirit to undertake any thing. At the mouth of the

river this morning we met a small, open, fishing-boat, into which I got, as I was told I should by that means arrive two hours sooner than I should otherwise have done, and as the sea was very high, every wave washed over me.

'Mr. S. (whom I passed at sea) will inform you that the pardon went down to the King at Weymouth some days ago. May we not then encourage a hope that I shall find all our miseries at an end? Oh! dare I flatter myself it is so, and shall we yet be happy? The thought is ecstacy. I am just going to write to the worthy Mr. Graham; you know I told you I should do it at sea; but I might as well have attempted to build a temple there. Oh! 'twas well my mind was bent on something else. When I was tempted to repine at the winds, I remembered that they were favourable for Henry.* I reflected on Peter's sufferings, and was content.'

On the same night this ardent young lady left Liverpool in the mail, and on the 5th writes from Mr. Graham's residence to assure her mother of her safety, her kind reception, and to repeat to her mother Mr. Graham's account of Peter—'that he conducts himself in such a manner as will reflect the *highest* and *most lasting honour* on himself, and produces the strongest sensations of pleasure and satisfaction to his friends.'

* A brother who had just sailed on his first voyage from Liverpool.

While Nessy remained in London, her brother James went on to see and embrace Peter at Portsmouth, whence the prisoner thus writes:

'*Hector*, *Oct.* 7, 1792.

'The date of my dearest Nessy's of yesterday surprised me very much indeed, yet I must own I had some idea that either you or James would take a trip to town on receipt of Mr. Graham's letters. What obligation, my dear Nessy, are we under to the inestimable Mr. Graham and a hundred other friends! You say you must *hope*. Alas! my love, it is nothing but a broken stick which I have leaned on, and it has pierced my soul in such a manner that I will never more trust to it, but wait with a contented mind and patience for the final accomplishment of the Divine Will. You wish to know how I am at present, and to tell you the exact state of my health and spirits, I never was in better; but recollect that Mrs. Hope is a faithless and ungrateful acquaintance, with whom I have now broke off all connexions, and in her stead have endeavoured to cultivate a more sure friendship with Resignation, in full t ust of finding her more constant. Your mentioning that you left my dear mother in better spirits has exhilarated mine.'

He desires her to write through her brother James, who is with him; and says that the reason for his having desired her not to write much was, lest she might injure herself by it, and he adds,

'from an idea that your exalted sentiments upon so tender a subject ought not to be known by an inquiring world; but,' he continues, 'do just as you like best: I am conscious that your good sense will prompt you to nothing inconsistent with our present circumstances. Endeavour, when you write home, to raise my dear mother's spirits, and tell her I have never yet felt the least depression except on her account.' To this she replies in the true spirit of a character like her own: 'Yes! my ever dearest brother, I will write to you, and I know I need not add that in that employment (while thus deprived of your loved society) consists my only happiness. But why not express my sentiments to yourself? I have nothing to say which I should blush to have known to all the world; nothing to express in my letter to you but love and affection; and shall I blush for this? Or can I have a wish to conceal sentiments of such a nature for an object who I am so certain merits all my regard, and in whom the admiration of surrounding friends convinces me I am not mistaken? No, surely; 'tis my pride, my chiefest glory, to love you; and when you think me worthy of commendation, *that* praise, and *that* only, can make me vain. I shall not therefore write to you, my dearest brother, in a private manner, for it is unnecessary; and I abhor all deceit; in which I know you agree with me.'

To her sister Mary, in the Isle of Man, she says, 'With respect to that little wretch Hallet, his in-

trepidity in court was astonishing; and after every evidence had spoken highly in Peter's favour, and given testimony of his innocence, so strong that not a doubt was entertained of his acquittal, *he* declared, unasked, that while Bligh was upon deck, he (Hallet) saw him look at and speak to Peter. What he said to him Hallet could not hear, (being at the distance of twenty feet from Bligh, and Peter was twenty feet farther off, consequently a distance of forty feet separated Mr. Bligh and my brother,) but he added that Peter, on *hearing* what Mr. Bligh said to him, *laughed* and turned contemptuously away. No other witness saw Peter laugh but Hallet; on the contrary, all agreed he wore a countenance on that day remarkably sorrowful; yet the effect of this cruel evidence was wonderful upon the minds of the court, and they concluded by pronouncing the dreadful sentence, though at the same time accompanied by the strongest recommendation to mercy. Assure yourselves (I have it from Mr. Graham's own mouth) that Peter's honour is and will be as secure as his own; that every professional man, as well as every man of sense, of whatever denomination, does and will esteem him highly; that my dear uncle Pasley (who was in town the night before my arrival) is delighted with his worth; and that, in short, we shall at length be happy.'

From this time a daily correspondence passed between Peter Heywood and his sister Nessy, the latter indulging hope, even to a certainty, that she

shall not be deceived—the other preaching up patience and resignation, with a full reliance on his innocence and integrity. 'Cheer up, then,' says he, 'my dear Nessy; cherish *your hope*, and I will exercise *my patience*.' Indeed, so perfectly calm was this young man under his dreadful calamity, that in a very few days after condemnation his brother says, 'While I write this, Peter is sitting by me making an Otaheitan Vocabulary, and so happy and intent upon it, that I have scarcely an opportunity of saying a word to him; he is in excellent spirits, and I am convinced they are better and better every day.'

This Vocabulary is a very extraordinary performance; it consists of one hundred full-written folio pages, the words alphabetically arranged, and all the syllables accented. It appears, from a passage* in the 'Voyage of the Duff,' that a copy of this Vocabulary was of great use to the missionaries who were first sent to Otaheite in this ship.

During the delay which took place in carrying

* The passage is thus given in the Naval Biography:

'An ingenious clergyman of Portsmouth kindly furnished Dr. Haweis and Mr. Greatheed with a manuscript vocabulary of the Otaheitean language, and an account of the country, which providentially he preserved from the mutineers who were seized by the Pandora, and brought to Portsmouth for their trial, which was of unspeakable service to the missionaries, both for the help which it afforded them to learn before their arrival much of this unknown tongue, and also as giving the most inviting and encouraging description of the natives, and the cordial reception which they might expect.'

the sentence into execution, Commodore Pasley, Mr. Graham, and others, were indefatigable in their inquiries and exertions to ascertain what progress had been made in bringing to a happy issue the recommendation to the fountain of mercy: not less so was Nessy Heywood: from Mr. Graham she learnt what this excellent man considered to be the principal parts of the evidence that led to the conviction of her unhappy brother, which, having understood to be the following, she transmitted to her brother:—

First. That he assisted in hoisting out the launch.

Second. That he was seen by the carpenter resting his hand upon a cutlass.

Third. That on being called to by Lieutenant Bligh, he laughed.

Fourth. That he remained in the Bounty, instead of accompanying Bligh in the launch.

On these points of the evidence, Mr. Heywood made the following comments, which he sent from Portsmouth to his sister in town.

'*Peter Heywood's Remarks upon material Points of the Evidence which was given at his Trial, on Board the Duke, in Portsmouth Harbour.*

'*First. That I assisted in hoisting out the launch.*— This boat was asked for by the captain and his officers, and whoever assisted in hoisting her out were their friends; for if the captain had been sent

away in the cutter, (which was Christian's first intention,) he could not have taken with him more than nine or ten men, whereas the launch carried nineteen. The boatswain, the master, the gunner, and the carpenter, say, in their evidence, that they considered me as helping the captain on this occasion.

'*Second. That I was seen by the carpenter resting my hand on a cutlass.*—I was seen in this position by no other person than the carpenter—no other person therefore could be intimidated by my appearance. Was the carpenter intimidated by it? —No. So far from being afraid of me, he did not even look upon me in the light of a person armed, but pointed out to me the danger there was of my being thought so, and I immediately took away my hand from the cutlass, upon which I had very innocently put it when I was in a state of stupor. The Court was particularly pointed in its inquiries into this circumstance; and the carpenter was pressed to declare, on the oath he had taken, and after maturely considering the matter, whether he did at the time he saw me so situated, or had since been inclined to believe that, under all the circumstances of the case, I could be considered as an *armed man*, to which he unequivocally answered, No; and he gave some good reasons (which will be found in his evidence) for thinking that I had not a wish to be armed during the mutiny. The master, the boatswain, the gunner, Mr. Hayward, Mr. Hal-

let, and John Smith, (who, with the carpenter, were all the witnesses belonging to the Bounty,) say, in their evidence, that they did not, *any of them*, see me armed; and the boatswain and the carpenter further say, in the most pointed terms, that they considered me to be one of the captain's party, and *by no means* as belonging to the mutineers: and the master, the boatswain, the carpenter, the gunner, all declare that, from what they observed of my conduct during the mutiny, and from a recollection of my behaviour previous thereto, they were convinced I would have afforded them all the assistance in my power, if an opportunity had offered to retake the ship.

'*Third. That, upon being called to by the captain, I laughed.*—If this was believed by the Court, it must have had, I am afraid, a very great effect upon its judgment; for, if viewed in too serious a light, it would seem to bring together and combine a number of trifling circumstances, which by themselves could only be treated merely as matters of suspicion. It was no doubt, therefore, received with caution, and considered with the utmost candour. The countenance, I grant, on some other occasions, may warrant an opinion of good or evil existing in the mind; but on the momentous events of life and death, it is surely by much too indefinite and hazardous even to listen to for a moment. The different ways of expressing our various passions are, with many, as variable as the features they

wear. Tears have often been, nay generally are, the relief of excessive joy, while misery and dejection have, many a time, disguised themselves in a smile; and convulsive laughs have betrayed the anguish of an almost broken heart. To judge, therefore, the principles of the heart, by the barometer of the face, is as erroneous as it would be absurd and unjust. This matter may likewise be considered in another point of view. Mr. Hallet says I laughed in consequence of being called to by the captain, who was abaft the mizen-mast, while I was upon the platform near the fore hatchway, a distance of more than thirty feet: if the captain intended I should hear him, and there can be no doubt that he wished it; if he really called to me, he must have exerted his voice, and very considerably too, upon such an occasion and in such a situation; and yet Mr. Hallet himself, who, by being on the quarter-deck, could not have been half the distance from the captain that I was, even he, I say, could not hear what was said to me: how then, in the name of God, was it possible that I should have heard the captain at all, situated, as I must have been, in the midst of noisy confusion? And if I did not hear him, which I most solemnly aver to be the truth, even granting that I laughed, (which, however, in my present awful situation I declare I believe I did not,) it could not have been at what the captain said. Upon this ground, then, I hope I shall stand acquitted of this charge, for if the

crime derives its guilt from the knowledge I had of the captain's speaking to me, it follows, of course, that if I did not hear him speak, there could be no crime in my laughing. It may, however, very fairly be asked, why Mr. Hallet did not make known that the captain was calling to me? His duty to the captain, if not his friendship for me, should have prompted him to it; and the peculiarity of our situation required this act of kindness at his hands.* I shall only observe further upon this head, that the boatswain, the carpenter, and Mr. Hayward, who saw more of me than any other of the witnesses, did say in their evidence, that I had rather a sorrowful countenance on the day of the mutiny.

'*Fourth. That I remained on board the ship, instead of going in the boat with the captain.*—That I

* Captain Bligh states in his journal, that none of his officers were suffered to come near him while held a prisoner by Christian; and Hallet was, no doubt, mistaken, but he had probably said it in the boat, and thought it right to be consistent on the trial.

It has been said that Hallet, when in the Penelope, in which frigate he died, expressed great regret at the evidence he had given at the court-martial, and frequently alluded to it, admitting that he might have been mistaken.—There can be very little doubt that he was so. But the Editor (of the Mutiny of the Bounty) has ascertained, from personal inquiry of one of the most distinguished flag-officers in the service, who was then first lieutenant of the Penelope, that Hallet frequently expressed to him his deep contrition for having given in evidence what, on subsequent reflection, he was convinced to be incorrect; that he ascribed it to the state of confusion in which his mind was when under examination before the Court; and that he had since satisfied himself that, owing to the general alarm and confusion during the mutiny, he must have confounded Heywood with some other person.

was at first alarmed and afraid of going into the boat I will not pretend to deny; but that afterwards I wished to accompany the captain, and should have done it, if I had not been prevented by Thompson, who confined me below by the order of Churchill, is clearly proved by the evidence of several of the witnesses. The boatswain says, that just before he left the ship I went below, and in passing him said something about a bag; (it was, that I would put a few things into a bag and follow him;) the carpenter says he saw me go below at this time; and both those witnesses say, that they heard the master-at-arms call to Thompson "*to keep them below.*" The point, therefore, will be to prove to whom this order, "*keep them below,*" would apply. The boatswain and carpenter say, they have no doubt of its meaning me as one; and that it must have been so, I shall have very little difficulty in shewing, by the following statement:—

'There remained on board the ship after the boat put off, twenty-five men. Messrs. Hayward and Hallet have proved that the following were under arms:—Christian, Hillbrant, Millward, Burkitt, Muspratt, Ellison, Sumner, Smith, Young, Skinner, Churchill, M'Koy, Quintal, Morrison, Williams, Thompson, Mills, and Brown; in all eighteen. The master (and upon this occasion I may be allowed to quote from the captain's printed narrative) mentions Martin as one, which makes the number of armed men nineteen, none of whom, we may rea-

sonably suppose, were ordered to be kept below. Indeed, Mr. Hayward says, that there were at the least eighteen of them upon deck, when he went into the boat; and if Thompson, the sentinel over the arm-chest, be added to them, it exactly agrees with the number above-named; there remains then six, to whom Churchill's order, "*keep them below*," might apply, namely, Heywood, Stewart, Coleman, Norman, M'Intosh, and Byrne.

'Could Byrne have been one of them? *No*, for he was in the cutter alongside. Could Coleman have been one of them? *No*, for he was at the gangway when the captain and officers went into the launch, and aft upon the taffrail when the boat was veered astern. Could Norman have been one of them? *No*, for he was speaking to the officers. Could M'Intosh have been one of them? *No*, for he was with Coleman and Norman, desiring the captain and officers to take notice that they were not concerned in the mutiny. It could then have applied to nobody but to Mr. Stewart and myself; and by this order of Churchill, therefore, was I prevented from going with the captain in the boat.

'The foregoing appear to me the most material points of evidence on the part of the prosecution. My defence being very full, and the body of evidence in my favour too great to admit of observation in this concise manner, I shall refer for an opinion thereon to the minutes of the court-martial.

(Signed) 'P. Heywood.'

There is a note in Marshall's Naval Biography, furnished by Captain Heywood, which shews one motive for keeping him and Stewart in the ship. It is as follows:—'Mr. Stewart was no sooner released than he demanded of Christian the reason of his detention; upon which the latter denied having given any directions to that effect; and his assertion was corroborated by Churchill, who declared that he had kept both him and Mr. Heywood below, knowing it was their intention to go away with Bligh; "in which case," added he, "what would become of us, if any thing should happen to you; who is there but yourself and them to depend upon in navigating the ship?"' It may be suspected, however, that neither Christian nor Churchill told the exact truth, and that Mr. Heywood's case is, in point of fact, much stronger than he ever could have imagined; and that if Bligh had not acted the part of a prejudiced and unfair man towards him, he would have been acquitted by the Court on the same ground that Coleman, Norman, M'Intosh, and Byrne were,—namely, that they were detained in the ship against their will, as stated by Bligh in the narrative on which they were tried, and also in his printed report. It has before been observed, that many things are set down in Bligh's original manuscript journal, that have not appeared in any published document; and on this part of the subject

* Vol. II. p. 778.

there is, in the former, the following very important admission: 'As for the officers, whose cabins were in the cockpit, there was no relief for them; *they endeavoured to come to my assistance, but they were not allowed to put their heads above the hatchway.*' To say, therefore, that in the suppression of this passage Bligh acted with prejudice and unfairness, is to make use of mild terms; it has more the appearance of a deliberate act of malice, by which two innocent men might have been condemned to suffer an ignominious death, one of whom was actually brought into this predicament;—the other only escaped it by a premature death. It may be asked, how did Bligh know that Stewart and Heywood endeavoured, but were not allowed, to come to his assistance? Confined as he was on the quarter-deck, how could he know what was going on below? The answer is, he must have known it from Christian himself; Churchill, no doubt, acted entirely by his leader's orders, and the latter could give no orders that were not heard by Bligh, whom he never left, but held the cord by which his hands were fettered, till he was forced into the boat. Churchill was quite right as to the motive of keeping these young officers; but Christian had no doubt another and a stronger motive; he knew how necessary it was to interpose a sort of barrier between himself and his mutinous gang; he was too good an adept not to know that seamen will always pay a more ready and cheerful obedience to officers who are

gentlemen, than to those who may have risen to command from among themselves. It is indeed a common observation in the service, that officers who have risen from *before the mast* are generally the greatest tyrants.* It was Bligh's misfortune not to have been educated in the cock-pit of a man-of-war, among young gentlemen, which is to the navy what a public school is to those who are to move in civil society. What painful sufferings to the individual, and how much misery to an affectionate family might have been spared, had Bligh, instead of suppressing, only suffered the passage to stand as originally written in his journal!

The *remarks* of young Heywood above recited, were received and transmitted by his sister Nessy in a letter to the Earl of Chatham, then first Lord of the Admiralty, of which the following is a copy:

'*Great Russell Street, Oct.* 11, 1792.

'My Lord,

'To a nobleman of your Lordship's known humanity and excellence of heart, I dare hope that the unfortunate cannot plead in vain. Deeply impressed, as I therefore am, with sentiments of the most profound respect for a character which I have

* Some few captains were in the habit of turning over a delinquent to be tried by their messmates, and when found guilty, it invariably happened that the punishment inflicted was doubly severe to what it would have been in the ordinary way. This practice—which, as giving a deliberative voice to the ship's company, was highly reprehensible—it is to be hoped has entirely ceased.

been ever taught to revere, and alas! nearly interested as I must be in the subject of these lines, may I request your Lordship will generously pardon a sorrowful and mourning sister, for presuming to offer the inclosed remarks for your candid perusal. It contains a few observations made by my most unfortunate and tenderly-beloved brother, Peter Heywood, endeavouring to elucidate some parts of the evidence given at the court-martial lately held at Portsmouth upon himself and other prisoners of his Majesty's ship Bounty. When I assure you, my Lord, that he is dearer and more precious to me than any object on earth—nay, infinitely more valuable than life itself—that, deprived of him, the word misery would but ill express my complicated wretchedness—and that, on his fate, my own, and (shall I not add?) that of a tender, fond, and, alas! widowed mother, depends, I am persuaded you will not wonder, nor be offended, that I am thus bold in conjuring your Lordship will consider, with your usual candour and benevolence, the "Observations" I now offer you, as well as the painful situation of my dear and unhappy brother.

'I have the honour, &c.,

'Nessy Heywood.'

Whether this letter and its inclosure produced any effect on the mind of Lord Chatham does not appear; but no immediate steps were taken, nor was any answer given; and this amiable young

lady and her friends were suffered to remain in the most painful state of suspense for another fortnight. A day or two before the warrant was despatched, that excellent man, Mr. Graham, writes thus to Mrs. Heywood.

'My dear Madam,

'If feeling for the distresses and rejoicing in the happiness of others denote a heart which entitles the owner of it to the confidence of the good and virtuous, I would fain be persuaded that mine has been so far interested in your misfortunes, and is now so pleased with the prospect of your being made happy, as cannot fail to procure me the friendship of your family, which, as it is my ambition, it cannot cease to be my desire to cultivate.

'Unused to the common rewards which are sought after in this world, I will profess to anticipate more real pleasure and satisfaction from the simple declaration of you and yours, that "we accept of your services, and we thank you for them," than it is in common minds to conceive; but, fearful lest a too grateful sense should be entertained of the friendly offices I have been engaged in, (which, however, I ought to confess, I was prompted to, in the first place, by a remembrance of the many obligations I owed to Commodore Pasley,) I must beg you will recollect that, by sending to me your charming Nessy, (and if strong affection may plead such a privilege, I may be allowed to call her *my*

daughter also,) you would have overpaid me if my trouble had been ten times, and my uneasiness ten thousand times greater than they were, upon what I once thought the melancholy, but now deem the fortunate, occasion which has given me the happiness of her acquaintance. Thus far, my dear Madam, I have written to please myself. Now, for what must please you—and in which too, I have my share of satisfaction.

'The business, though not publicly known, is most certainly finished, and what I had my doubts about yesterday, I am satisfied of to-day. Happy, happy, happy family! accept of my congratulations —not for what it is in the power of words to express—but for what I know you will feel, upon being told that your beloved Peter will soon be restored to your bosom, with every virtue that can adorn a man, and ensure to him an affectionate, a tender, and truly welcome reception.'

At the foot of this letter Nessy writes thus:—'Now, my dearest mamma, did you ever in all your life read so charming a letter? Be assured it is exactly characteristic of the benevolent writer. What would I give to be transported (though only for a moment) to your elbow, that I might see you read it! What will you feel, when you know assuredly that you may with certainty believe its contents? Well may Mr. Graham call us happy! for never felicity could equal ours! Don't expect connected sentences from me at present, for this joy

makes me almost delirious. Adieu! love to all—I need not say be happy and blessed as I am at this dear hour, my beloved mother.

'Your most affectionate,

'N. H.'

On the 24th October, the king's warrant was despatched from the Admiralty, granting a full and free pardon to Heywood and two of his companions. It was, as may well be conceived, the harbinger of inexpressible joy to the family and friends of this excellent young man. The happy intelligence was communicated to his affectionate Nessy on the 26th, who instantly despatched the joyful tidings to her anxious mother in the following characteristic note:—

'*Friday, 26th October, 4 o'clock.*

'Oh, blessed hour!—little did I think, my beloved friends, when I closed my letter this morning, that before night I should be out of my senses with joy!—this moment, this ecstatic moment brought the inclosed.* I cannot speak my happiness; let it be sufficient to say, that in a very few hours our angel Peter will be FREE! Mr. Graham goes this night to Portsmouth, and to-morrow, or next day at farthest, I shall be—oh, heavens! what shall I be? I am already transported, even to pain; then

* Information that the pardon was gone down to Portsmouth.

how shall I bear to clasp him to the bosom of your happy, ah! how very happy and affectionate

'NESSY HEYWOOD.'

'I am too *mad* to write sense, but 'tis a pleasure I would not forego to be the most reasonable being on earth. I asked Mr. Graham, who is at my elbow, if he would say anything to you; "Lord!" said he, "I can't say anything." He is almost as mad as myself.'

Mr. Graham writes, 'I have, however, my senses sufficiently about me not to suffer this to go without begging leave to congratulate you upon, and to assure you that I most sincerely sympathize and participate in, the happiness which I am sure the inclosed will convey to the mother and sisters of my charming and beloved Nessy.'

Nessy next writes to Mr. Const, who attended as counsel for her brother, to acquaint him with the joyful intelligence.

To F. CONST, ESQ.

'MY DEAR SIR,

'I should think myself ill-deserving of the kind attention you have paid to the interest of my beloved brother, if I omitted a moment to inform you that I am now very near indeed to the completion of my wishes with respect to his fate. Mr. Graham has, this moment, received a letter assuring him that my brother's pardon went down to Portsmouth by a

messenger from the Admiralty Office this morning. I flatter myself you will partake in the joy which, notwithstanding it is so excessive at this moment as almost to deprive me of my faculties, leaves me however sufficiently collected to assure you of the eternal gratitude and esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your most obliged,

'N. H.'

To which Mr. Const, after congratulations and thanks for her polite attention, observes, 'Give me leave, my dear Miss Heywood, to assure you that the intelligence has given me a degree of pleasure which I have not terms to express, and it is even increased by knowing what you must experience on the event. Nor is it an immaterial reflection that, although your brother was unfortunately involved in the general calamity which gave birth to the charge, he is uncontaminated by the crime, for there was not a credible testimony of the slightest fact against him, that can make the strictest friend deplore any thing that has passed, except his sufferings; and his uniform conduct under them only proved how little he deserved them.'

Nor did the friends of the family delay pouring in their congratulations. And among them particularly, Mr. Heywood, of Maristow, hastened to express the sincere joy with which he received the intelligence of his Majesty's pardon. In a letter to Mrs. Heywood he says, 'You have, my dear

Madam, the additional satisfaction of finding your son, notwithstanding the *formal sentence* passed upon him, perfectly acquitted in the breast of the public, of the crime laid to his charge, and as perfectly guiltless of any thing which can ever prejudice his character, as a man of honour.'

Mr. Graham's impatience and generous anxiety to give the finishing stroke to this joyful event would not permit him to delay one moment in setting out for Portsmouth, and bringing up to his house in town the innocent sufferer, where they arrived on the morning of the 29th October. Miss Heywood can best speak her own feelings.

'*Great Russell Street, Monday Morning, 29th October, half-past ten o'clock—the brightest moment of my existence!*

'My dearest Mamma, I have seen him, clasped him to my bosom, and my felicity is beyond expression! In person he is almost even now as I could wish; in mind you know him an angel. I can write no more, but to tell you, that the three happiest beings at this moment on earth, are your most dutiful and affectionate children,

'Nessy Heywood,
'Peter Heywood,
'James Heywood.

'Love to and from all ten thousand times.'

The worthy Mr. Graham adds, 'If, my dearest

Madam, it were ever given for mortals to be supremely blest on earth, mine to be sure must be the happy family. Heavens! with what unbounded extravagance have we been forming our wishes! and yet how far beyond our most unbounded wishes we are blest! Nessy, Maria,* Peter, and James, I see, have all been endeavouring to express their feelings. I will not fail in any such attempt, for I will not attempt any thing beyond an assurance that the scene I have been witness of, and in which I am happily so great a sharer, beggars all description. Permit me, however, to offer my most sincere congratulations upon the joyful occasion.'

This amiable young lady, some of whose letters have been introduced into this narrative, did not long survive her brother's liberty. This impassioned and most affectionate of sisters, with an excess of sensibility, which acted too powerfully on her bodily frame, sunk, as is often the case with such susceptible minds, on the first attack of consumption. She died within the year of her brother's liberation. On this occasion the following not. from her afflicted mother appears among the papers from which the letters and poetry are taken. 'My dearest Nessy was seized, while on a visit at Major Yorke's, at Bishop's Grove, near Tonbridge Wells, with a violent cold, and not taking proper care of herself, it soon turned to inflammation on her lungs,

* Mr. Graham's daughter.

which carried her off at Hastings, to which place she was taken on the 5th September, to try if the change of air, and being near the sea, would recover her; but, alas! it was too late for her to receive the wished-for benefit, and she died there on the 25th of the same month, 1793. She has left her only surviving parent a disconsolate mother, to lament, as long as she lives, with the most sincere and deep affliction, the irreparable loss of her most valuable, affectionate, and darling daughter.'*

But to return to Mr. Heywood. When the King's full and free pardon had been read to this young officer by Captain Montagu, with a suitable admonition and congratulation, he addressed that officer in the following terms,—eminently charac-

* Several elegiac stanzas were written on the death of this accomplished young lady. The following are dated from her native place, the Isle of Man, where her virtues and accomplishments could best be appreciated:

'How soon, sweet maid! how like a fleeting dream,
The winning graces, all thy virtues seem!
How soon, arrested, in thy early bloom,
Has fate decreed thee to the joyless tomb!
Nor beauty, genius, nor the muse's care,
Nor aught could move the tyrant Death to spare:
Ah! could their power revoke the stern decree,
The fatal shaft had past, unfelt by thee!
But vain thy wit, thy sentiment refined,
Thy charms external, and accomplish'd mind;
Thy artless smiles, that seized the willing heart,
Thy converse, that could pure delight impart;
The melting music of thy skilful tongue,
While judgment listen'd, ravish'd with thy song:
Not all the gifts that art and nature gave,
Could save thee, lovely Nessy! from the grave.'

teristic of his noble and manly conduct throughout the whole of the distressing business in which he was innocently involved :—

'SIR,—When the sentence of the law was passed upon me, I received it, I trust, as became a man; and if it had been carried into execution, I should have met my fate, I hope, in a manner becoming a Christian. Your admonition cannot fail to make a lasting impression on my mind. I receive with gratitude my Sovereign's mercy, for which my future life shall be faithfully devoted to his service.' And well did his future conduct fulfil that promise.

The following striking and impressive lines were written by Mr. P. Heywood on the day that the sentence of condemnation was passed upon him :

'——— Silence then
The whispers of complaint,—low in the dust
Dissatisfaction's dæmon's growl unheard.
All—all is good, all excellent below;
Pain is a blessing—sorrow leads to joy—
Joy, permanent and solid! ev'ry ill,
Grim death itself, in all its horrors clad,
Is man's supremest privilege! it frees
The soul from prison, from foul sin, from woe,
And gives it back to glory, rest, and God!
Cheerly, my friends,—oh, cheerly! look not thus
With Pity's melting softness! that alone
Can shake my fortitude—all is not lost.
Lo! I have gain'd on this important day
A victory consummate o'er myself,
And o'er this life a victory,—on this day,
My birthday to eternity, I've gain'd
Dismission from a world, where for a while,
Like you, like all, a pilgrim passing poor,
A traveller, a stranger, I have met

Still stranger treatment, rude and harsh! so much
The dearer, more desired, the home I seek,
Eternal of my Father, and my God!
Then pious Resignation, meek-ey'd pow'r,
Sustain me still! Composure still be mine.
Where rests it? Oh, mysterious Providence!
Silence the wild idea—I have found
No mercy yet—no mild humanity,
With cruel, unrelenting rigour torn,
And lost in prison—lost to all below!'

And the following appears to have been written on the day of the King's pardon being received:

'——— Oh deem it not
Presumptuous, that my soul grateful thus rates
The present high deliv'rance it hath found;—
Sole effort of thy wisdom, sov'reign Pow'r,
Without whose knowledge, not a sparrow falls!
Oh! may I cease to live, ere cease to bless
That interposing hand, which turn'd aside—
Nay, to my life and preservation turn'd—
The fatal blow precipitate, ordain'd
To level all my little hopes in dust,
And give me to the grave.'

Notwithstanding the inauspicious manner in which the first five years of his servitude in the navy had been passed, two of which were spent among mutineers and savages, and eighteen months as a close prisoner in irons, in which condition he was shipwrecked, and narrowly escaped destruction, he re-entered the naval service.

CHAPTER IV.

THE sketch of Captain Heywood will now be continued very nearly in his own language. The memoranda in Captain Heywood's hand-writing, from which the following extracts have been made, are indeed exceedingly imperfect, being drawn up at intervals entirely for private use. But, such as they are, they furnish a tolerable abstract of his naval career; and it appeared to the Editor desirable to preserve as much of his own language as possible, rather than to attempt a less broken, but probably less interesting narrative.

'After visiting my family and friends, and when my health was completely restored,' says Captain Heywood, 'I re-entered the navy by the desire of Sir Thomas Pasley, and at the express recommendation of Lord Hood, who presided at my court-martial, and who offered to take me under his own immediate patronage. This, however, my uncle declined; and on the 17th May, 1793, took me under his own command in the Bellerophon. But service in a frigate being more active than in a ship

of the line, I was on the 9th of July removed into the Niger, then commanded by the Hon. Arthur Kaye Legge, where I did duty as master's mate till the 23rd of September, when I was ordered by Lord Howe to join the Queen Charlotte, where his flag was then flying as commander-in-chief of the Channel Fleet. I served in that ship as signal midshipman and master's mate under his Lordship's eye and the commands of Sir Hugh C. Christian and Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, who, together with Sir Roger Curtis, the captain of the Channel Fleet, were all members of the court-martial, and became my most sincere and warm friends, and gave me the strongest and most flattering proofs of their approbation, esteem, and good-will, not only whilst I served under their own immediate observation, but ever afterwards as long as they severally lived. After the defeat of the French fleet on the 1st of June, 1794, (in which action I did my duty on the quarter-deck as one of Sir Andrew Douglas' aids-du-camp,) and we had returned to Spithead, I was appointed, on the 24th of August in Torbay, acting lieutenant in the Robust, 74, commanded by Captain Thornbrough. But a lieutenant having been previously appointed by the Admiralty without the knowledge of Lord Howe, (as we went to sea that day,) I was of course superseded, on our return to Torbay on the 9th of October, 1794, as were several others at the same time and for the same

reason;' and we all consequently returned to the Queen Charlotte, where I remained till the 9th of March, 1795.*

'Lord Spencer, who then presided at the Admiralty, was pleased to promote me to the rank of

* Some doubts having arisen about this period as to the propriety of giving naval rank to a person who had been placed in Mr. Heywood's late critical situation, his friend Sir Roger Curtis was kind enough to consult an eminent lawyer, whose opinion on that subject we now lay before our readers.

'*July* 27, 1794.

'The warrant for the execution of some of the offenders, and the pardon of Mr. Heywood, states the charge to have been "for mutinously running away with the armed vessel the Bounty, and deserting from his Majesty's service." This you will find to be the 15th in the catalogue of offences enumerated in the Act of 22 Geo. II. Cap. xxxiii., and it is thereby enacted that the offender shall suffer death. Nothing is said of any incapacities whatever, and indeed it would be strange to have superadded incapacities to a capital punishment.

'The judgments which a court-martial is empowered to pronounce by this Act are of three distinct kinds, the one discretionary, another capital, and a third, incapacity ever to serve in the navy. The last (except so far as it is included in discretionary sentences) is enacted in one instance only. Upon this state of things, it should seem clear that Mr. Heywood having received judgment of death, the *only* judgment which the act empowers the court-martial to pronounce, and his Majesty having been pleased to dispense with the execution of that sentence, the plain principle of the common law ought to take place, by which Mr. Heywood is in point of capacity to hold any station, civil or military, no way *now* distinguished from any other subject. You will moreover observe, that the directions of this Act must be literally observed, being in a matter highly penal, and that no disabilities or incapacities can be introduced by inference. I should myself clearly conceive, that an offence attended with judgment of death having been pardoned by his Majesty, the supposed offender is, in this case, in the same situation as if no such judgment had ever been passed.'—*Marshall's Naval Biography.*

Lieutenant in the Incendiary fire-ship, commanded by Captain John Draper. I remained in her only till the 6th of April following, and on the 7th received a commission as junior Lieutenant of La Nymphe, Captain George Murray, then employed as one of the cruizers on the coast of France, and who afterwards commanded the advance frigates with the fleet, under Lord Bridport, which defeated that of the French, on the 23d of June, 1795, off the Island of Groais (Groix). I remained in the Nymphe with Captain Murray, and afterwards Captain Geo. Losack, in the North Sea, till she was paid off at Plymouth, about the end of the year, 1795.

'On the 13th of January, 1796, I was appointed to the Fox, of thirty-two guns, Captain Pulteney Malcolm, and joined her in the Downs. I served in her as third Lieutenant in the North Sea, till we were ordered to the East Indies about June, when I became second, and on our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, the first Lieutenant being invalided, I became first, and so continued till the 16th of June, 1798, when Captain Malcolm was appointed to command the Suffolk, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Peter Rainier, and I was removed to that ship along with him.'

To Admiral Rainier Mr. Heywood had been previously recommended for promotion by Earl Spencer, the same nobleman who had signed his first commission, and whose good opinion of him

will be seen by the following copy of a letter to Sir Thomas Pasley:

'*Admiralty, Jan.* 13, 1797.

'SIR,

'I should have returned an earlier answer to your letter of the 6th instant, if I had not been desirous, before I answered it, to look over, with as much attention as was in my power, the proceedings of the court-martial, held in the year 1792, by which Court Mr. Peter Heywood was condemned for being concerned in the mutiny on board the Bounty. I felt this to be necessary, from having entertained a very strong opinion that it might be detrimental to the interests of his Majesty's service, if a person under such a predicament should be afterwards advanced to the higher and more conspicuous situations of the navy; but having, with great attention, perused the minutes of that court-martial, as far as they relate to Mr. Peter Heywood, I have now the satisfaction of being able to inform you, that I think his case was such an one, as, under all its circumstances, (though I do not mean to say that the Court were not justified in their sentence,) ought not to be considered as a bar to his further progress in his profession; more especially when the gallantry and propriety of his conduct, in his subsequent service, are taken into consideration. I shall, therefore, have no difficulty in mentioning him to the commander-in-chief on the station to which he belongs, as a person from whose promotion, on a

proper opportunity, I shall derive much satisfaction, more particularly from his being so nearly connected with you.

'I have the honour to be, &c.,
(Signed) 'SPENCER.'

'About the middle of May, 1799, as the Admiral was expecting daily to hear of the fall of Seringapatam, and the Earl of Mornington, contemplating that event, had previously applied to him for a vessel of war to carry home his despatches, the Admiral was pleased to select me for that service. On the 17th he appointed me Lieutenant and Commander of the Amboyna, brig of war, off Mangalore, and ordered me to proceed to Madras with all possible despatch, touching at Cannanore, to deliver some letters to Captain Hargood, of his Majesty's ship Intrepid. The next morning I anchored there, and as the account of the capture of Seringapatam had that moment reached Captain Hargood, and he had no means of conveying the important intelligence to the Admiral,* I endeavoured to prevail on him to order me immediately back with it, assuring him of the Admiral's approval, as it would enable him to despatch me at once to England, with every probable prospect of arriving there much sooner than any vessel, by which the Earl of Mornington

* Tippoo Sultan having been slain, and the Mysore capital carried by storm, thirteen days prior to the date of Admiral Rainier's order.

could have sent his despatches from Madras. That his Lordship had done so, I endeavoured to convince him must be the case long before this time, or at any rate before the Amboyna could possibly reach him. I could not, however, prevail on him to take on himself this responsibility, nor would he allow me to take it on myself, as I told him I would most willingly do, and, contrary to my orders, return to the Admiral at Mangalore. The Southampton was with Captain Hargood, and he said he would send her to the Admiral; but as all her empty casks had been landed, and she happened to be otherwise so situated as to occasion a loss of much time, there was no chance of getting her off that day. However, I was directed to make the best of my way to Madras; and though I arrived there in nine days, I found to my mortification, that the despatches had been sent by the Governor-General, before I quitted Mangalore, in a merchant vessel, which he had been obliged to hire for the purpose. On the arrival of the Suffolk, I therefore rejoined the Admiral, who would (as I supposed) have been well pleased if Captain Hargood had done as I suggested; because he had been obliged to send home the Southampton, after so much delay, as made it improbable she could arrive there before the vessel Lord Mornington had despatched. I remained in the Suffolk till August, 1800, when I was appointed to command the Vulcan bomb-vessel, then at Amboyna. I took my

passage in the St. Thomé armed transport to join her, and sailed from Madras in company with the Impérieuse, Captain Josias Rowley.'

From Amboyna Capt. Heywood visited many of the Spice Islands, and amongst others called upon his old friends at Coupang, whose astonishment was great, as may be supposed, at seeing the late wretched prisoner return in command of a King's ship!

'Here Capt. Heywood commenced that well-known series of latitudes and longitudes of the various ports of the Eastern seas, by which their geography has since been corrected. These he continued till 1805, with the skill and indefatigable ardour which at once stamped his individual reputation, and reflected honour on the service in general. His scientific attainments, however, did not save him from a severe mortification, which we* have often heard him bitterly regret. The late Capt. Astle, then commanding the Virginie, being the senior officer, ordered the Vulcan to Madras, directing her to proceed between Timor and Timorlout, and thence by the open sea. On this our commander ventured to represent that, in the space from Timor to New Holland, the N.W. monsoon was constantly between W.N.W. and W.S.W. with a heavy sea, hard squalls, gloomy weather, and a constant current to the Eastward; that shoals and reefs, both known and unknown, were to be expected, and

* The Editor is indebted to the writer in the United Service Journal for the insertion of these paragraphs.

that the sailing qualities of the Vulcan were so indifferent, that the idea of carrying despatches by that route was inconsistent. He also shewed that in the Java Sea, the same monsoon was broken into variable winds, while the water was smoother, and the aids of tides to be taken advantage of; and what was more, refreshments to be every where obtained. But the Commodore was one of those sturdy Rough-knots who did not much relish the "march;" he considered lunar observations as a species of legerdemain, and held that it was presumptuous to say what wind would blow at any particular time. In this discussion, as he had so very junior an officer to contend with, he scorned to strike; and all that he would listen to, was Heywood's advice that duplicates of the despatches should be sent by a country ship then going to Madras through the island channels, and which, by the way, arrived nearly two months before him.

'Meantime, the poor old Vulcan bent her weary way into the Channel formed by Timor and New Holland; and the mass of soundings on our present charts mark the time she continued standing from side to side, between the Sahol Bank and *Vulcan* Point, a head-land which they thought they never could clear. After driving about amongst the Dampier Shoals, and the various coral reefs of the vicinity, he at last reached Madras; but what with hunger, thirst, sickness, and death, his ship was almost as melancholy as the Pandora had been.'

'From Amboyna,' continues Captain Heywood, 'I returned in the Vulcan to Madras, where I was appointed, on the 11th of June, 1801, to command the Trincomalè Sloop of eighteen guns. I was employed in her on detached services, chiefly in the Bay of Bengal; and on my rejoining the Commander-in-chief, he gave me a commission for the Trident, of sixty-four guns. At this time Admiral Rainier had his flag in the Leopard, Capt. Surridge, and on her arrival with the Trident at Trincomalè, the sternpost of the latter being found so defective as to render it necessary for her to be sent to Bombay to be taken into dock, and Captain Surridge expressing a wish to be removed into her, the Admiral was pleased to do so, and I was appointed to command the Leopard, of fifty guns, on the 15th of May, 1802. In this ship I was ordered to survey the East coast of the island of Ceylon, and more especially the shoals off the N.E. part of that island, and the whole extent between them and Point Calymere, at that time not at all known.

'On the 29th of September, 1802, Captain Collier, of his Majesty's sloop Victor, having been appointed to the Leopard, by the Admiralty, (before my order was dated,) I was consequently superseded by him; but Captain Shortland, of La Dédaigneuse, a 36-gun frigate, who brought out despatches, being invalided on account of ill health, on the same day the Admiral gave me the command of that ship, the 30th of September, 1802. In this

ship I was employed chiefly in detached and confidential services, and remained in her till the 26th of January, 1805; when, in consequence of a debilitated state of health, and the necessity of getting home for the purpose of arranging my private family affairs, owing to the death of my elder brother, I took my passage in the Cirencester, East-Indiaman, and arrived in England in September following.'

In this ship, also, we gather from the United Service Journal, 'he encountered a furious Typhoon, in which she was totally dismasted, and only preserved from destruction by the singular union of coolness and resource which constituted the talent of the Captain. While the Dédaigneuse was refitting at Macao, he contrived to find time to make an excellent survey of the Typa.'

It was on board the Dédaigneuse, too, that he had the mortification of discovering, among the very first things which came into his hands belonging to a younger brother, whom he had taken out with him, and who died on board, a paper, containing a discussion of the question, 'Whether Capt. Heywood, after all the circumstances of his trial and condemnation, could possibly succeed to the family property?' A singular instance of that ingratitude and unaccountable baseness of feeling, which appearing, as in this case, in a family distinguished by so much of an opposite character, seems to render human nature a strange and dark enigma! It is easy to conceive how peculiarly painful such an incident

must have been to the pure, honourable, and generous spirit of Captain Heywood. And in a brother too! 'It was not an enemy; then I could have borne it'—might have been his just reflection.

Captain Heywood's application for permission to retire, was thus answered by the officer under whose command he had then served for an uninterrupted period of more than eight years:

'*Trident, Port Cornwallis, Prince of Wales's Island,*
'Sir *January* 23, 1805.

'In answer to your letter of yesterday's date, requesting permission to resign the command of his Majesty's ship La Dédaigneuse, in order to attend to some very pressing and important family concerns, the management whereof indispensably demands your presence in London, I have to acquaint you, that I think it but justice due to your very meritorious and faithful services, to grant you that permission; and in farther gratification of your request, I shall, with much pleasure, assure my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of my firm persuasion, that your application has arisen from no other motive than that you have stated, which, I have no doubt, will appear perfectly satisfactory to their Lordships, and, when the state of your private affairs will permit, induce them to attend to your solicitation to be again appointed to the command of one of his Majesty's ships.

'I cannot help testifying my sincere regret on

parting with so able and active an officer as yourself from the squadron I have the honour to command; and I request your acceptance of my best wishes for the successful accomplishment of the business that has been the occasion of it. I remain with much respect, Sir,

'Your very faithful, humble servant,

(Signed) 'PETER RAINIER.

'*To* P. HEYWOOD, *Esq.*,
Captain, H. M. S. Dédaigneuse.'

In addition to the performance of the valuable service already alluded to, the survey of the East coast of Ceylon, Captain Heywood ascertained the exact position of almost every place on the Indian coast, and of the different islands to the Eastward, which enabled him to render material assistance to James Horsburgh, Esq., the present hydrographer to the East India Company. It is mentioned in an account of that scientific gentleman, published in 1812, that 'Mr. Horsburgh had the good fortune to sail for England in the Cirencester (East Indiaman), Captain Thomas Robertson, with Captain Peter Heywood, of the Navy, as his fellow-passenger. From that experienced and intelligent officer, while arranging his works for publication, he derived great assistance, and since that period he has frequently benefited by communications from the same friendly source.'

Mr. Horsburgh, who still livesto cherish the memory of his departed friend, mentions as a pleasant proof of Capt. Heywood's strength and superior activity at that period, that, when they touched at St. Helena, on their way home, they set out together at an early hour in the morning, to walk round the island, which is about twenty miles in circumference, but presents an arduous task to the pedestrian, by its mountainous character and rocky coast. Conducted by an African slave belonging to their host, Mr. Mason, they passed over a sharp mountain summit, well known by the name of the *Horse Ridge*, which affords a path just wide enough for one person, on both sides very precipitous, and over which no European, according to their host, had ever passed before. Captain Heywood suffered very little from the day's exertion in comparison with the fatigue experienced by his companion.

'On the 20th of October, 1806,' continues Captain Heywood, 'my old friend Sir George Murray, with whom I served as third lieutenant in' La Nymphe in 1795, being appointed to the command of a secret and important expedition to South America, hoisted his flag in his Majesty's ship Polyphemus, of sixty-four guns, and did me the honour to select me as his captain in that ship.'

This ship, attended by a small squadron, arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, and was there joined by a fleet of transports, having on board upwards of four thousand troops, towards the latter end of

March, 1807. The military commander, Brigadier-General Craufurd, had just before received a despatch from Rear-Admiral Murray, acquainting him that the destination of the armament had been changed in consequence of the reverses sustained by the British army in South America, and that, instead of going by the Eastern route to Lima, as was originally intended, they were now to proceed to the Rio de la Plata, and act in conjunction with the forces to be there assembled for the recovery of Buenos Ayres.

The island of Terceira and Cape Town are places sufficiently well known, and of which many descriptions may doubtless be found; yet the following notices of them, as they appeared at this time to Captain Heywood, and in his own language, will probably possess some interest for the readers of this sketch :—

'PORT PRAYA.—January 19, 1807.—At one P. M., after the ship's company had dined, we made all sail and shaped a course for Port Praya, a town of Terceira, one of the Azores. On approaching the town, the Portuguese flag was displayed on the Fort—if a rough stone wall five or six feet high, and surrounding the governor's house, deserves the name. As we were turning up to the anchorage, with light baffling winds off shore, the admiral ordered a lieutenant to be sent to wait on the Governor to acquaint him of his intention to anchor and remain for the night, and at the same time to in-

quire how, and in what quantity, water, stock, &c., could be procured.

'From the general, barren, and inhospitable appearance of this island, where little verdure, and scarce a tree was to be seen, I confess I was not a little surprised to hear from the officer, when he returned, that the general and commanding officer of the garrison (a woolly-headed black gentleman, and chief of the place in the absence of the Governor, who was in the country), had told him to inform the admiral, that the ships could be supplied with *every thing* in plenty, and that to-morrow his people should send every thing off that was wanted, but could not sell any thing to-day, being the sabbath. The town is situated on rising ground, at a small distance from the sea, and the whole surface of the ground appeared to be covered with rocks and stones; altogether, the place presented to the eye a most dreary aspect. The shore to the Eastward, and down abreast with the town, is steep, bluff, and rocky; but to the Westward, a low white sandy beach extends to a rounding point, off which there runs out a spit of sand and coral, a few cables' length, and at a small distance from it there is no sounding at forty or fifty fathoms.

'20th. In the evening I went on shore to wait upon the Governor and to examine into the nature and state of the watering-place, and in what manner water was, with most ease and expedition, to be got off.

'The town of Praya (and a more wretched-looking place I think I never beheld) is situated upon an eminence between two valleys, in which there is not the least appearance of any vegetation, except a few miserable, unproductive date trees. Indeed, wherever the eye may rest, all is waste land and rocky sterility, so that, on first landing, a stranger, as he casts his eyes around, mentally inquires how the inhabitants are supplied with food. The town does not contain a house of the least apparent respectability (not even the Governor's), or fit to afford any thing like what could be called comfortable accommodation; nor is there a gun, a carriage, nor a soldier in the place, (if one may judge of the whole from the partial view I had of some of them,) that would stand long, if opposed by half a dozen boats' crews armed with only their stretchers. The water here is very good, at least we found it so, but procured with much labour and fatigue. The casks must be landed on the beach to the westward of the town, and rolled up to a well, at the distance of more than a quarter of a mile, where they are to be filled by drawing up the water with buckets; though I think that a pump, taken ashore for the purpose, would be a much more expeditious and less laborious mode.

'We did not stay here long enough to procure any bullocks, though I believe we might have been well supplied, had we staid a day or two longer. The people informed us that all the cattle were in

the interior of the island, as those in the vicinity of the town had been all devoured by the soldiers and sailors who lay here so long, and were but just gone away, and it would take some time to have them driven in. They also told us, that every kind of fruit might be had in great plenty in a day or two. However, we got some oranges, bananas, guavas, and other fruits, and a few pumpkins for a sea-stock; but poultry did not seem to be plentiful.

'Besides the Governor of Praya, I did not see above half a dozen European Portuguese while I was ashore. The greater part of the natives seemed to be a poor, dirty, indolent, mongrel race, between Portuguese and Negroes, and of such animals as these the main guard of their soldiers, through which I passed, was composed, scarcely one of whom had either a shoe or stocking to his feet, and but very few of their musquets had locks. To prevent the slaves from running away, I was informed, that the government prohibits to all the inhabitants the use of boats of any kind, and I dare say it is the case, for I did not see one; so that fish (so good and principal an article of food in most tropical countries) is here very scarce and seldom seen, except some small ones, which they catch with rod and line from the rocks near the sea-side.'

'Cape Town.—April, 1807. *Cape Town* is situated on the South side of Table Bay, upon a gentle descent and near the shore, having the country open to the Eastward, the sea to the North-west, the Lion's Head and Lion's Rump to the

South-west and West, the Table Mountain and Tiger Hill to the Southward of it. The length of the flat surface of the Table Land is about 2200 yards from East to West, and its height above the level of the sea 3564 feet. The castle is situated at the East extremity of the town near the wharf. The Lion's Rump is within a mile and half of it, and the mid height of the Tiger Hill not much above one mile. Somewhat more than a mile to the Eastward of the castle is Craig's Battery, and between them, near the beach, another, connecting a chain of lines which extends towards Tiger Hill.

'Cape Town is said to contain upwards of 20,000 inhabitants; it is about three-quarters of a mile from North to South, and the same from East to West. The streets are at right angles to each other, and tolerably wide; many of them have in the centre what the Dutch would call a canal, but they are generally receptacles of dirt and filth, and instead of clear wholesome water, are covered at bottom with slimy mud. This the Dutch do not care much about. Their cleanliness seems not to extend beyond the terrace in front of their houses, though, to do them justice, these are always neat and clean. They are elevated some steps above the street, and have a stone seat at each end, on which they sit and smoke and otherwise enjoy themselves in the cool of the evening. The houses are well built and commodious, and of most of them very particular care seems to be taken on the outside, by a frequent use of white-wash. They are orna-

mented with green window-shutters, and upon the whole present an airy, cool appearance, and are adapted to the climate. At the back of the town are some gardens divided in the middle by a long walk formed between two rows of fine dwarf oak trees. About half way up this walk stands the government house, a large edifice, with a flight of steps in front. It was fitted up in its present style while Governor Jansen was at the Cape, and is in tolerably good order. This governor has also much improved the appearance of the East part of the town, by making a very handsome parade between it and the castle. It is in length 450 yards, and breadth 250, inclosed by a wall, near which rows of fir trees are planted, and surrounded by a ditch or canal. A little way further up from this, there are good barracks sufficient for the accommodation of 2000 men, and to the Eastward of the castle and near the beach there is a very good military hospital. Beef, mutton, vegetables, and fruits in great variety, are abundant at all times, and by hauling the seine near the wharf, we always got as much fish as served the whole ship's company.'

In June, Captain Heywood rejoined the squadron at Monte Video, and in his log-book the following remarks are found:

'Sept. 1807. During our short stay in the river Plate, peculiar circumstances obliged me to be much more on board the ship than I should have been under any other, and prevented me from ac-

quiring much knowledge of the dangers that are laid down in the Spanish chart, and others said to have been found out since by some of our own ships; and had not Captain Beaufort, of his Majesty's ship Woolwich, arrived, we should yet have been unacquainted with the real situation of the Archimedes' bank on which the Diomede struck, and of the North part of the English bank on which the Leda grounded, and which, till he examined it, was supposed to be detached from it. * * *

'From the accounts I had heard, I was led to expect we should have had very heavy rains, frequent fogs, and violent South-west winds, (or pamperos, as they are called by the Spaniards,) as the time of our arrival in the river was the beginning of the winter. But we had no very heavy rains; what we had were showers of short duration now and then; the weather was seldom foggy, and we rode out the hardest pampero we experienced with only half a cable more than usual on the weather anchor, the yards braced by, and the topmasts on end. It was, however, said to be considered by the Spaniards as a winter much more remarkable for mildness than any they had known for many years. There is a peculiarity in the air of this part of South America which resists putrefaction. It absorbs the moisture of the innumerable dead carcases which lie about the ground in all directions, so that, without acquiring a very offensive smell, they dry up and wither away. Yet, notwithstand-

ing this purity of the air, there is, perhaps, no part of the world where flesh-wounds are more dangerous and fatal to mankind, and where the lock-jaw is so frequently the occasion of death. This, however, I should be inclined to attribute rather to the state of the blood of patients in this country, owing to the quantity of animal food they eat, than to any atmospheric cause. The climate, on the whole, during the short period I had experience of it, may be called a good one for persons of sound constitutions, but for people of delicate habits, the changes of temperature were rather too frequent and sudden, though the thermometer never fell below 48° nor rose above 64°, and the mean height of the ☿ was about 55° or 56°, yet it sometimes changed very quickly when the wind shifted suddenly from the Northward round to South-west. The country around Monte Video is the finest in the world, and it is a pity it were not inhabited by a more industrious people, who would set a proper value on the comforts and blessings it might be made to afford them. The present possessors are certainly the most indolent and dirty race under the sun. Satisfied with the flesh of bullocks as almost their only food, they take not the smallest pains to cultivate a soil which, with very little trouble or labour, would produce, in the greatest abundance and perfection, fruits and vegetables of every kind; and though they have in the market at Monte Video cabbages and cauliflowers as fine as are to be any where

seen, yet they are very dear. Potatoes they have none; at least I never saw any, though I heard that they have them at Buenos Ayres and up the country. Game of all kinds is remarkably plentiful and cheap in the markets, particularly partridges; and the wild ducks, teal, and every species of water-fowl, are as fine as any in the world.'

The campaign for the recovery of Buenos Ayres terminated unsuccessfully and under disastrous circumstances; and, in Jan. 1808, Captain Heywood returned to England. In May he was superseded in the command of the Polyphemus, as that vessel was appointed to receive the flag of Rear-Admiral Rowley, who was about to take upon himself the chief command at Jamaica.

'Once more, therefore, turned ashore,' says Captain Heywood in his diary, 'and finding my friend, Mr. James Horsburgh, busily employed in writing a book of directions for the navigation of the Indian seas, rather than be an idle, useless drone, I set myself to work to construct a set of charts to accompany his directory, chiefly from the valuable information contained in it, and the little experience I had been myself able to acquire in those seas. I had finished two of them, which I presented to him as a tribute of my esteem and regard, and was beginning the third, when, on the 3rd of November, I received a letter from my friend, Captain Pulteney Malcolm, of the Donegal, requesting me to allow him to apply to their Lordships to appoint me to

command his ship during the time he might be obliged to remain on shore, as he was ordered to attend as a witness in the inquiry about to be instituted relating to the convention of Cintra. The appointment followed his letter. I joined the Donegal next day at Spithead, and on the 10th anchored at Causand Bay, where I was ordered to join Lord Gambier.'

Captain Heywood was engaged for a short time on the French coast, until Captain Malcolm returned to his ship. Having then no further employment in Lord Gambier's fleet, he returned to London on the 11th of March; and on the 18th, he received the thanks of the Admiralty, conveyed through Rear-Admiral Stopford, for his conduct in the presence of a French squadron, which had escaped from Brest, and for his gallantry in the attack made upon three frigates belonging to the said squadron, which had anchored in the Sable d' Olonne, and were there destroyed on the 23d of the preceding month.

Captain Heywood, having expressed his readiness and desire for immediate employment again, received in May a commission for the Nereus, a new contract-built frigate; and, on June 1st, took the command of her. As soon as the vessel was ready, Captain Heywood sailed to join the fleet, under Lord Collingwood, in the Mediterranean, and he gave that admirable commander much pleasure by having taken care to bring out with him a

great quantity of stores, of which he had understood the fleet to be in want. During November and December the Nereus was employed in cruizing off the South coast of France; but the ship being in a bad state, it was deemed necessary to send her to Gibraltar, and thence to England to be repaired. During the time that the vessel lay off Gibraltar, Captain Heywood had much conversation with General Frazer about the fortress of Ceuta, and the necessity that there seemed to be for its being in the possession of the English, or, at any rate, garrisoned by British troops. After refitting at Gibraltar, Captain Heywood sailed to Ceuta to ascertain the real state of feeling in the Governor and Spaniards of the place towards the English, and in regard to the admission of English troops. He became convinced that the feeling was greatly in their favour.

The following passages in Captain Heywood's diary relate to this interesting subject:

'March 16, 1810. I employed my time in sounding the bay, and now and then going on shore, as did my officers, to the houses of some of the principal inhabitants. We did our best to conciliate the minds of the people of all ranks, and to impress them with sentiments favourable to our countrymen, and I sometimes thought we had not been altogether unsuccessful.'

'March 20. I was very agreeably surprised this morning, whilst I was employed taking some angles near the fort St. Catalina, by a visit from my

esteemed and most worthy friend Captain Beaufort, who had run over to Gibraltar in his gig to satisfy the curiosity he had to see Ceuta. Lieutenant Robertson, also, (Aid-du-camp of Major-General Fraser,) of the 9th regiment, came over from Gibraltar with the order from the Junta to the Governor, to admit the British force that was to be sent over by the Commander-in-chief at Gibraltar. I accompanied Lieut. Robertson to the Governor, and though there was no withstanding this positive order, yet I was sorry to observe that there seemed to be still remaining some symptoms in the minds of a few of the narrow-minded part of the Junta, of a want of confidence in the honour of the English; for the Governor himself told me, that some of them had even gone so far as to say that, "if the English troops were once admitted within the walls of the fortress, it would be no easy matter to get them out of it again." In the course of the day, however, every thing was settled about admitting them, and Lieut. Robertson returned with Captain Beaufort, carrying with him a letter from the Junta to General Campbell to that effect. I was afraid that the few illiberal-minded men of the Junta would at any rate endeavour to prevent the grant of the citadel to quarter the troops in, which it would be most desirable to obtain, not only on account of its healthy, but commanding, situation; and because they would be entirely apart from the Spaniards. Nothing, however, I soon saw, would

be decided on till the troops came over; and, on the next morning, at 8 A. M., I ran over to Gibraltar to bring Major-General Fraser and the transports. Whilst getting under weigh, I observed a felucca coming into the bay of Ceuta with some personage of superior rank on board, by the number of flags and streamers they had displayed. Just as I was about to anchor in Gibraltar Bay, Captain Beaufort sent me word that he had General Fraser and suite on board the Blossom. I therefore wore, and after taking them on board the Nereus, stood over to Ceuta, the transports, with the troops (4th regiment) following, and anchored in the little bay about sunset.'

'March 23. The next morning I accompanied the General to wait on the new Governor, the Marquis d'Alost, who arrived yesterday from Cadiz, just as we were getting under weigh; and finding that the necessary ceremonies were about to take place, I sent off word to have salutes ready to be fired; and established a particular signal for the purpose. The people seemed all highly gratified at my having selected so solemn a moment to do honour to their Governor, and still more so at his return to the house, when at the moment of his entering the door the ship fired another salute to the garrison by signal, and it was afterwards returned with an equal number. These little attentions—all I could shew—seemed to be very well received.

'Before we went to church with the new Gover-

nor, as nothing had been decided on about accommodating the troops, the Major-General made some inquiries about the matter, and, to his no small surprise and regret, was shewn some buildings in the suburbs, which had been, and were still, in part occupied by convicts. They were, besides, in a very bad state of repair, and having only paved floors, looked more like stables than the comfortable quarters British soldiers were used to, and would expect. However, there was nothing to be done here by remonstrance and grumbling. Though the Junta had determined that our troops should not, when landed, occupy the citadel on the height, and there seemed to be little chance of getting any other quarters for them than the convicts' barracks, and though General Fraser, therefore, had almost decided on not disembarking the troops till another day, in hopes of getting better, he at last consented to let me land them, in the hope that in the present state of the public mind, which was very favourable, the fine appearance of such a regiment as the 4th King's Own, would of itself almost procure them good quarters. We got them every man ashore in one hour at two o'clock; and somehow or other, by the ability of the General and Mr. Viane, of Gibraltar, who accompanied him as interpreter, together with such little aid as I had to give, matters were so managed that at three o'clock every desirable point was carried, even with suspicious members of the Junta, and Colonel Bevan had marched his men,

with the full concurrence of every soul in the place, up to the citadel, where the quarters are excellent, and if things are but henceforth carried on as they of course will be, that citadel will never be occupied by any but British troops. I am confident that in the good humour we had the Spaniards in before the end of the day, there might have been landed, had it been wished, 3000 or 4000 men, as easily as the 4th regiment; and now that the ice is fairly broken, there will be little difficulty in introducing, with the most hearty consent of the Junta and the approbation of all the people of Ceuta, any farther number of troops that may be considered necessary for the defence of this most valuable fortress. If the Peninsula falls under the Buonaparte sway, its importance to Great Britain will be incalculable, for a thousand reasons connected with our policy and commerce, as well as the many local advantages it has, which it would be very unnecessary to mention. It will enable us to break the line of the gigantic Napoleon power, at least as far as his extent of sea-coast goes; and the strength of Great Britain will be greatly increased by thus resting on the pillars of Hercules.' * *

A description of the bay of Ceuta follows, and of its navigation, which it is deemed unnecessary to insert.

On the 29th of March, Captain Heywood, at the desire of Admiral Purvis, sailed from Gibraltar with

the remains of his late excellent and respected commander, Lord Collingwood, on board.

On the 19th of April he 'passed through the Downs with the flag of Lord Collingwood half staff, and whilst passing the English squadron, the flags of Vice-Admiral Campbell and Rear-Admiral Sir R. Strachan were lowered half-mast, as well as the pendants of the private ships.'

The remains of Lord Collingwood were conveyed from the Nore up to Greenwich in the yacht of the Lords Commissioners.

In June, 1810, the Nereus having been completely repaired in the Dock-yard at Chatham, Captain Heywood endeavoured to make interest at the Admiralty to be sent out again to the Mediterranean. But in this he was disappointed. By order of the Admiralty he sailed from Spithead on the 30th of August, with a convoy of fourteen sail of merchants' vessels for the coast of Brazil; and on the 30th of October, the Nereus anchored in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro, and he placed himself under the orders of Vice-Admiral De Courcy.

In the Rio de la Plata, Captain Heywood was employed on various confidential services, where his zeal, ability, and integrity, proved of great benefit to British commerce.

Soon after his arrival he was ordered by the Vice-Admiral to cruize between the Plata and the Cape of Good Hope, in order to warn home-bound vessels from the East Indies of danger from the French

fleet, to protect such vessels, and to gain intelligence of the movements of the enemy. The following are interesting extracts, relating to the island of Tristian d' Acunha, Gough's Island, and Benguela, while on this cruize.

'TRISTIAN D' ACUNHA.—January 4, 1811.—I stood in again about half-past four o'clock, close to the N. W. point of the island, a little distance from which lies a rock, having somewhat the appearance of a boat with a large fore-lug set. A little to the Eastward of this rock I bore up, and as we kept within half a mile of the shore, just outside of the sea-weed, which is seen in abundance, I observed a great number of sea-elephants, as the Americans call them, though they are, in every respect, like a seal, except being of an enormous size. I intended to have anchored here, but the wind hanging too much to the Northward to make it prudent, I hove too, close in off the waterfall, and sent a boat in to see if any of these huge animals' skins could be got. The boat found a good place to land to the Eastward of the cascade, on a black sandy beach protected, by the projection of a small rocky point, from the surf which was not very heavy on the shore. On the return of the boat about sunset, the officer informed me that when they landed, the beach was covered with these large beasts, twelve or thirteen of which they had killed, but could not bring away, owing to their enormous size, —some of them weighing not less than six or seven

hundred pounds. I therefore determined to send a boat in the morning, should the weather be favourable, and stood off for the night.'

'January 5.—At daylight sent a boat on shore with officers and a party of men to skin the elephants, and, if possible, to get some more to make caps and weather jackets for the men. * * In the afternoon I went ashore and found the people all busy skinning the beasts they had killed yesterday, but to-day they had very few on the shore, the report of the fire-arms having frightened them all off. There were, however, great numbers of them among the rocks and breakers near the shore, anxiously looking at it as if desirous of coming ashore to bask. In the course of the day, several wild hogs and goats had been seen by some of the people, who had gone up the hills at the back of the cascade, where there is a piece of ground of tolerable extent, and sufficiently level for any kind of cultivation. The labour of clearing it would not be great, as the trees are not large, and a great part of it is covered only with long coarse grass, and a few large fragments of rock which must have been projected at some time down from the mountains above. The soil appeared to be a fine rich mould that would no doubt repay the labourers' pains. On the Eastern side of the cove on which our boats landed, the remains of a house were discovered, near a well of fresh water, also several empty casks, and two or three boilers,

which, it was supposed, had been left by some of the American sealers who visit and often remain on this island for months. In the evening came off with all the people, and stood off for the night.'

'January 6.—Daylight discovered to us a ship standing to the Eastward; we made sail in chase of her, and as she altered her course soon afterwards for the North part of the island, closed with her and sent an officer on board. She proved to be an American ship of two hundred and twenty-two tons, called the Baltic, which had sailed from Rio de Janeiro for this island fifteen days before us. From the master of this vessel (Mr. Lovel) we learnt that about eleven months before he had taken away from this island, about one thousand casks of oil, which had been procured by a few men whom he had left on it for a few months. He had left in February last six men with his mate on Gough's island, whither he was now bound to take them off, and had called off here to land three men, his countrymen, who intended to settle on Tristian d' Acunha altogether, if, after a few years' trial, they should find it answer their expectations. One of them had been a master of a vessel, and had remained several months on the island before. I had a boat on shore at the time this man landed from the Baltic, and the officer, Mr. Gabriel, directed the boat's crew to give him every assistance to land his goods and provisions. He had brought with him stock of all kinds, potatoes

and various plants and seeds, &c., which he said he intended immediately to put into the ground, and he had no doubt they would thrive well.

'The casks and kettles our people had discovered, he was very happy to hear were all safe, for they had been left by him last year; but he was very much disappointed at finding nothing but part of the walls of his hut. By this man's account, the island abounds with wild hogs and goats, and the sea swarms with excellent fish, which may be caught close among the rocks, so that he seemed to be in no apprehension whatever of being ever in want of good food. He seemed a man of about four or five and thirty, and no doubt industrious and persevering, and therefore will, I dare say, do well in a few years, by collecting oil and skins for such vessels as will yearly touch at the island to take them off his hands, and in a short time he may return to his country with a moderate, independent fortune, which having been thus acquired by labour and industry, and under circumstances of peculiar privation, he will doubly value and enjoy in the society of his family and friends. Poor man! I sincerely wish him success, and should hereafter be much gratified to hear of it.

'I think the circumference of this island does not exceed nineteen miles; the whole East part of the island is steep and abrupt, but near the S.E. point, and along the South part, the water seemed quite smooth enough, on a sandy beach or two,

where boats could have landed with ease. The sun shone strong on them as we passed, and they were almost covered with these sea elephants. The S. W. point of the island formed rather low, having at a little distance from it a green hill, and between it and the S. E. point there seemed to be two or three spots of tolerably level ground, and clear of trees. The higher parts of this island are beautifully green, but not so well clothed, as the lower ground, with trees. The mountains are cloven and divided in all directions by deep valleys; but their acclivities seemed rather too steep for cultivation, even if the soil under the verdure should be of a proper quality. I should have liked much to have sent a boat ashore to the S.E. part of the island, but the flurries came down from the hills so heavy at times, with intervals of calm of short duration, that I gave up the idea, and left the island in the evening.

'As I was thus far I thought it worth while to go to Gough's Island, on the possibility of an outward-bound Frenchman keeping in *that* track *even*, to avoid our ships going out.'

'January 8.—At day-light, the wind having hauled to the South, the weather cleared up, and Gough's Island was in sight about six leagues from us, the base and extreme points of it only to be seen, the higher parts being obscured by clouds.—Made sail, and on approaching observed the rock of the N.E. point, making, as is described, exactly like a church with a spire. The contour of this whole island

is steep, rising up almost perpendicularly from the sea in high cliffs, down the fissures of which fall several beautiful cascades. About eight o'clock, observing a hut in a small cove, sheltered by some of the high-peaked rocks, whose base is completely perforated, and supposing it might be the habitation of some of the American seamen whom the master of the Baltic had left here last year, I hove to, and sent a lieutenant away in the cutter with orders to land, if he should find it safely practicable, to try to get some tidings of them, and to offer them any assistance which they might need. He landed just to the Eastward of the large rock, but finding no person in or near the hut, he returned about noon, and just at the same time a boat was observed pulling up from the S.E. part of the island, round the Church Rock, which I bore up for and picked up. In it were the people left by the master of the Baltic, and not a little overjoyed when I told them, that they might expect to see their ship daily to take them off the island. Not that they had been in want of food, for they informed me that they caught a great variety of excellent birds up in the hills by lighting a fire there in the night, at which they flew in such numbers that they knocked them down with sticks. They had also some of the provisions still left which they landed along with them, and they could always catch more fish than they could eat, in a quarter of an hour. But they had not been so successful as they hoped, when

they first landed, that they should have been, for in all this time they had only been able to fill forty casks of oil, and cure eleven hundred seals'-skins, so that, as they were all on shares, they would scarcely clear as much for their labour as would find them "new gang of rigging," and truly they needed some, for they were all in a most ragged plight, full of grease, and filth, and clothed chiefly in seal-skins. One of these people, the Mate, (who was, by the bye, an *American* born in the north of Ireland,) told me that the climate of this island is very mild, even in winter; nothing like frost was ever seen, and neither hail nor snow ever lay four hours upon the tops of the hills. Rain is very frequent, scarcely a day passing without some. The most prevailing winds were between West and North, seldom South-westerly, and the wind had never been once from the Eastward while he was on the island. The seals have almost all deserted the island, but the penguins are innumerable; for when the lieutenant, whom I sent ashore first landed, the whole strand was so beset with them, that he found no small difficulty in getting his way picked through among them, as they bit him by the legs as he walked along, but would not move out of the way. On the East side of the island, to the Southward of the Church Rock, there is an islet, at a small distance from the main island, within which these people had, as the Mate informed me, always been able to land with safety, in a small cove they had found; and being protected by the

N.E. point from the swell and strong winds, he had erected the hut, where he generally took up his quarters. Between this island and the S.E. point, there seemed to be a small bay where he said a ship might anchor in twenty fathoms, half a mile from the shore, in a tolerably good holding sandy bottom. If it had not been growing late in the evening I would have sent a boat to sound about this part of the island, but the weather began to look angry, and I stood away to the Eastward.

'The surface of Gough's Island, this man informed me, is generally covered with a slight coat of moss or turf, but here and there in the valleys, the soil is very good, and fit for agricultural purposes. He had grown, very successfully, potatoes and other vegetables, but seemed to think there was a superabundance of moisture. In the course of the day, the whole summit of the island was entirely cleared of clouds, and when about five miles from the base of the highest part of it, and at the distance of two miles from the shore, its angle of elevation was 8° '08, which will make the height of it about 4385 feet above the level of the sea; at the same time the angle subtended by its N.W. and S.E. points was 83° '26, so that its size is every way much less than Tristian d'Acunha. This island is also very different from Tristian d'Acunha, in having very few trees on it, except here and there, very near the shore. The variation of it was 10° 30′ westerly. Both these islands, like St. Helena, have evidently

been produced by volcanic eruptions, the appearance of them all being exactly similar as to general formation.

'From the island of Gough, I made about a true N.E. by E. course, under easy sail, crossing obliquely the track of any vessels that might be bound to the Eastward, but we did not fall in with any. From this time we cruized athwart the homeward-bound track from the Cape, and falling in with nothing, I determined, before I went down so far to leeward as St. Helena, to thwart the track between Cape Negro and that island, as it would be a good one for an enemy's vessel (well navigated) to take, in preference to the usual and direct track from the Cape to St. Helena. As there was no flour in store, nor any to be purchased at Rio de Janeiro before I left it, I was under the necessity of sailing without any, and to take salt meat in lieu. I therefore considered that it would be an object of great importance to the health of my ship's company, if I could procure some bullocks at Benguela to take with me to the island of St. Helena, where there could be no chance of getting any.

'29th January, 1811. Arriving at Benguela, the Governor, Antonio Babello de Andrade, sent on board a great quantity of various fruits and vegetables of all kinds, and promised to send off fresh beef; and the next morning I went ashore to wait on the Governor, who said he had given orders for bullocks and every other necessary refreshment to be

brought in from the country, for supplying the ship as soon as possible. After I had breakfasted with the Governor I went on board, and wrote to the Commander-in-chief, by a brig just then about to sail for Rio de Janeiro. In the course of this and the following days during which I staid here, the Governor, with a degree of liberality and hospitality very rarely to be met with, sent off a great many fine bullocks, sheep, pigs, goats, and stock of all kinds; and when the purser went ashore for the purpose of settling the accounts, he would neither accept of bills nor money, and told him to say to me that he neither could nor ought to receive any other remuneration, and all he desired of me was, that on my return to Rio de Janeiro, if I could but consider myself satisfied with his *poor endeavours* to serve us, that I would acquaint his Royal Highness the Prince Regent with it. I went on shore again to explain to him the manner in which British men-of-war were usually supplied, and to acquaint him that it was not customary for us to receive, except on payment of some kind; but all I could say made no impression on him. I therefore wrote a letter officially to Vice-Admiral De Courcy on the subject, and left it with the Governor, to forward by any opportunity that might occur after I should sail. I wished much to have had the Governor on board to dine with me to-day, 2d February, but he could not come, on account of some particular order which prohibits Portuguese Governors from going afloat

at all until relieved. I had, however, all the officers of the garrison he could spare, and in the evening they went away, apparently very well pleased with their entertainment.

'The climate of Benguela is considered extremely unhealthy, more especially at this season of the year, on account of the want of rain, and the heat of the weather. I am inclined, however, to think that the mode of living of the inhabitants is the cause why they feel serious effects of climate on their constitutions. They are so afraid of the heat of the sun, and the slightest exposure to it, that they never take any exercise whatsoever, and yet they live in the most full and gross manner on animal food of all kinds, except fish, which nothing can prevail on them to touch, as they told us they considered them a sort of poison, and advised me by all means to prevent the ship's company from eating any. I have sometimes before met with these local antipathies to fish, but seldom found them to have any rational foundation, and therefore, as the bay seemed to be absolutely alive with fish of all kinds, we sent to haul the seine every morning, and always caught more than all hands could devour; nor was there a single instance of any person's health suffering by eating them. The temperature in the heat of the day, in my cabin, never exceeded 79°; and as there was a regular, fine, fresh sea-breeze from about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, till about seven or eight in the evening, it was not so

very hot even in the sun as the Portuguese seemed to think, and in the shade it was quite cool enough. From what little I saw of this place, I should have a favourable opinion of the climate, if this be the unhealthy season. The nights were pleasantly cool, though generally quite calm. The Portuguese told me that the best time of the year for ships to visit Benguela is from the month of May till October, when the weather is very cool, and agreeable to the constitutions of Europeans; and as to blowing weather in the bay at any time of the year, such a thing was never heard of. The Europeans at this settlement seemed to be very few in number, and among them there was not one Portuguese woman, as the climate, they said, was always fatal to women and children. The fort and town are situated at a short distance from the beach, without a tree near any of the houses to shelter them from the sun. For an extent of about six or eight miles from the water-side up to the base of the rising hills, the land is level all along the shore, and inhabited by a numerous race of negroes, who seem to live very comfortably and in peace, under the rule of the Portuguese, though very few of them, as I was informed, have been converted to Christianity.

'The soil is rich, producing almost every fruit to be met with within the Tropics, in the greatest perfection and abundance, as well as some of the finest grapes I almost ever saw. Bullocks, hogs, very fine goats, sheep and poultry of all kinds, are

excellent and abundant; so that any ship making an Eastern passage to the Cape, or going out to India, might get well supplied here. The only objection is the trouble of getting water. That article, indeed, can only be got by bringing it up out of wells, which are too far from the beach for any *Europeans* to be employed to fill it or roll the casks down to the beach, except it were done in the night time. We took in about ten or twelve tons for stock, but it was all filled and sent off by the Governor's order and slaves.

The chief, indeed almost the only, staple of trade at Benguela is slaves; but the Governor informed me, that since the Abolition Acts had been passed by the Legislature of Great Britain and other powers, it had dwindled away to nothing, as no purchasers now came for the thousands that could be collected. To my astonishment he told me that not only the Africans, living among and under the government of the Europeans, on the several parts of the coast of Africa, but all those of the interior nations, from whom the slaves are procured, were sorry that the slave-trade had been abandoned by any of the white people, and that they were much distressed by it, for they could now get no sale for the slaves they brought in, nor procure, as they used to do, in exchange for them, the various articles of European manufacture, which our ships used to bring, and of which they now exceedingly felt the want. He assured me, also, that though it is true the abolition had rendered the wars among the Africans in the

interior less frequent, (as they were, he was convinced, sometimes undertaken for the express purpose of making slaves of those whom they took prisoners,) yet they were now become shockingly sanguinary; for finding they got no sale for their slaves when brought in to the Europeans, they put them all to death, to get rid of them. I have no doubt but this may be all very true; for a prime slave could be purchased at Benguela for about £6, when I was there, and sometimes they were as low as £3. I was surprised to see at this place neither horses, mules, nor asses, and was informed, when I asked the reason, that though horses had frequently been brought to Benguela, yet from some cause or other, which they could not discover, they were always very shortly taken ill and died.

'There was no surf on the beach, and we at all times landed without inconvenience.

'The bay of Benguela, from the extreme given points, is, I suppose, about eight miles in extent; and its depth, from a transit line through these points, may be about two or two and a half miles to the beach.'

After touching at St. Helena, on the 11th of February, Captain Heywood returned to Rio Janeiro on the 17th of March; and on the 18th of April received orders from the Admiralty to go to the Plata, 'to defend the British commerce in that river from any unjust effects of commotion.' There were doubts whether the person at Monte Video,

(General Elio,) then executing the functions of Viceroy, had received, before he left Spain, full and necessary appointment to that post. On this important point, Captain Heywood was unable to obtain satisfactory information. A civil war was at this time raging between the Viceroy and the Junta, the former of whom was established at Monte Video, the latter at Buenos Ayres, from which it was expected the British subjects and merchants might be sufferers.

It will readily be seen that this service was one of great delicacy and difficulty. A few extracts from Captain Heywood's diary will display the admirable mixture of firmness and courtesy, of prudence and candour towards all parties, by which he caused the British flag to be respected by the Spaniards, and his own character to be universally esteemed. He excited in the English merchants feelings of the warmest gratitude. Bent solely upon the discharge of his duty, with no selfish aim, and actuated by the highest principles of honour and benevolence, he held himself ready for every species of service which his situation and means permitted him to afford to all parties within the sphere of his influence, whether foreigners or countrymen; and it will be seen in the sequel of the Memoir how highly and justly his character was appreciated.

On the 2d of May, 1811, Captain Heywood arrived at Monte Video, and immediately waited on Don Xavier Elio, (with Capt. Elliott, who was al-

ready on that station, commanding the Porcupine,) to acquaint him with the chief purport of the orders he was under from the Commander-in-chief, viz. to assist in defending the British in these provinces against any effects of commotion. 'Though no idea could be entertained by me,' says Capt. Heywood, in his account of the interview, 'of impeding his official measures, yet a duty paramount to almost every other made it necessary in me to protect his Majesty's subjects, so long as they should not infringe any positive or known law. That on this incontrovertible principle I was directed to repair to an anchorage near to Buenos Ayres, not with any intention to press commerce against a Viceroy's interdiction, but to warn the British merchants there of the delicacy of their situation, to recommend to them not to let any consideration, for their own private individual interests, induce them to become partisans in the political dissensions at this time existing in these provinces; and lastly, to aid and assist such of the British merchants there as might be desirous of sending away their property, or of quitting the Rio de la Plata. In order to promote these and other results beneficial to the commercial interest of my countrymen at Buenos Ayres, and to obviate and remove some of the obstacles thrown in the way of commercial speculation by the unsettled state of the government here, I expressed my hope and confidence that the Viceroy would allow British ships, now laden

or loading at Buenos Ayres, with property belonging to his Majesty's subjects, to pass from thence down the river without molestation, and moreover allow them to touch at Monte Video, if they wished it, without being subject to the repayment of any duties whatsoever, which they might have paid before at Buenos Ayres. In reply to the whole, his Excellency observed, that he presumed Captain Elliott, of the Porcupine, would lay before me the various communications that had passed between them. He said that the Junta of Buenos Ayres were traitors to their king, and enemies to Spain. That *he* held the sovereign power in these provinces, and was the only legitimate authority, and as such he had declared war against the Junta. That he had declared Buenos Ayres and the ports thereof in a state of blockade, and was determined to prevent English commerce, as well as any other, from entering there; though he was desirous of giving to the English every preference consistent with his duty. Therefore, that such ships as had arrived at Buenos Ayres, should, as I desired, be allowed to sail unmolested, but that no more should be permitted to enter. The Viceroy seemed to entertain an idea that I could force British vessels away, but I told him *that* was not in my power; but if the blockading power warned them off, and they should persist in entering, they must abide by the consequence. The Viceroy expressed in strong terms his disposition to do every thing to support and

assist the British; but said, that they must not enter Buenos Ayres, because their commerce had enabled the Junta, by the duties received, to carry on the war. He observed also, that they had even supplied the Junta with boats and vessels fit for war, and moreover had increased the spirit of insubordination among the people of Buenos Ayres, by holding out to them that they would be protected by Great Britain, and by spreading false news of the defeat of the Spanish armies. I concluded by begging to be informed of any new law or regulation the Viceroy might think proper to adopt, which might in any shape affect the interests of British merchants, in order that I might acquaint them with the same. He promised he would, and concluded by offering me any service in his power.'

On the 5th, the Viceroy having desired a conference, Captain Heywood waited upon him. 'We sat down in the study, and the Viceroy said, "Now we will have some conversation." Mr. M'Kinnon was with me, and the Viceroy sent an Aid-du-camp for Mr. Asavedo. The Viceroy then gave me a letter to read, which he had received from Lord Strangford, the British Minister. This letter contained expressions from his Lordship of great regret on account of the distracted state of these provinces; offers of every assistance on the part of Great Britain to preserve these colonies to Spain; and recommended the Viceroy, in the strongest terms, to endeavour to bring about an armistice between

himself and the Junta of Buenos Ayres, till the mediation of Great Britain (which he offered) could be obtained, and assuring the Viceroy that it would be guaranteed by the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships on this station. I had just read Lord Strangford's letter when Mr. Asavedo entered, and, being introduced by the Viceroy, he asked me, in English, if I was acquainted with the contents of that letter. He was told I had just read it. The Viceroy then asked me if I had ever read his correspondence with the Junta and Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, to which I replied in the negative, and he said he would give me copies of it. He then observed, that it was in substance the same as that which had been recommended by Lord Strangford; that Asavedo had been the bearer of his despatches, with whom the Junta had refused all communication, and whom they treated with the utmost indignity. Asavedo put this question to me, "If the Junta refuse to accept of the mediation proposed by Lord Strangford, and, on the contrary, should the Viceroy agree to it, would you act against the Junta?" I replied at once that I had no orders to act against the Junta, but, on the contrary, to preserve the most perfect and unqualified neutrality. I told him that I had a letter, similar, I believed, in tenor to that to the Viceroy, to deliver to the Junta, and that I should do so without making any observation whatever; that after this, should they send for me, as the Viceroy had been

pleased to do, I should wait on them, and tell them, as I had told his Excellency, the purport of my orders. Here I found some difficulty in explaining to the Viceroy and Mr. Asavedo that I had no political or diplomatic character whatsoever. They incorrectly imagined that I was the Commander alluded to in the letter of Lord Strangford, who would guarantee the proposed armistice. It was, however, explained to them that Vice-Admiral De Courcy was meant. The Viceroy then said, that on his part he would accept of the mediation proposed with great satisfaction; that he would agree to the cessation of hostilities, the basis of which should be the removal, on the part of the Junta, of the troops on this side of the river, and that he would raise the blockade, open the communication, and place every thing on a peaceable and friendly footing; and then refer to the Spanish government under the mediation of Great Britain. That, in regard to himself, if he was personally obnoxious to the government, or to the people of Buenos Ayres, he would retire; that his person should no longer be an impediment to the proposed arrangement, for he was interested only for the good and safety of his country, and desirous of putting an end to war. He continued (in strong terms), that he fully empowered me to pledge myself to the Junta, that he would fulfil these conditions. I then begged to know, clearly, if I was at liberty to say so to the Junta, to which he unequivocally replied, *You are*. Some conversation now took place as to the mode of communicating with the Junta, and I told

the Viceroy that unless the Junta should think fit to enter into a correspondence with me, so as to lead to a conference with them, similar to that with which his Excellency had honoured me, I should not feel authorized (for want of political character), nor could I presume to propose any thing to them. I observed, at the same time, with all due respect and deference to the Viceroy, that it would be rather indiscreet and unlikely to bring to issue the object in view, to give the Junta the smallest hint that his Excellency had made up his mind to accept their propositions. It was suggested also to his Excellency, that if Lord Strangford's letter to the Junta should produce in their minds the same pacific disposition which the Viceroy had shewn, and as much willingness to accept of the mediation of Great Britain, the proposal ought, with more propriety, to come from them, than descend from the Viceroy to them. The Viceroy saw it in that light too; and it was, therefore, thought, that my most proper mode of proceeding, would be to deliver to the Junta the letter with which I was charged, and if, in consequence, they should require a conference with me, and should give me their full and distinct sentiments, so as to induce me to believe that Lord Strangford's proposals were agreeable to them, I should then be at liberty to use my own discretion as to introducing any of my authorities from the Viceroy to accede to the same. These authorities I should produce whenever I could do so with a good effect. The Viceroy several times

repeated, not only the conditions proposed by my Lord Strangford, but that he would himself be no personal hindrance to the arrangement, for he would embark for Europe, and join his regiment, if, from what had happened formerly, he was unfortunately an object of dislike.

'Mr. Asavedo once asked me, "As you acknowledge the Viceroy, and as Spain and Great Britain are united in the same war, how comes it that you do not consider those as rebels and enemies whom the Viceroy has declared to be so?" The question was a pertinent and a home one—but I answered it immediately by saying, that it would be arrogance and presumption in the extreme in me, as a British naval officer, without any instructions on this head, nor having any political capacity at all, to give *any opinion;* and much more presumptuous, nay, punishable, were I, thus circumstanced, to have the temerity to aid or assist any one Spaniard against the other. Towards the conclusion of the conversation, the Viceroy spoke with contempt of the troops and forces of the Junta—said that the Junta had raised a civil war—that they might flatter themselves to take Monte Video, but that it was impossible. However, he said, to keep the country clear, and to prevent the evils which might arise from the mode of warfare adopted, he had thought it his duty to call for the Portuguese troops. A few observations were then made on the subject of the blockade, by Mr. Asavedo, who wished it to be understood that

the date of it was the fifteenth of April last; the Viceroy (recollecting, I suppose, his promise to me on the second) said "No—such ships as have entered up to this time shall not be considered as having violated the orders of blockade." Also, if any that might be warned off, should still persist on entering, they must take the consequence. I again assured the Viceroy that I was instructed not to force commerce against his interdiction, and that I could not entertain any idea of opposing the order of blockade. I then took my leave, with a promise to wait on him previous to my sailing.'

'8th. I went ashore to take leave of the Viceroy, who was as good as his word, and gave me an order to the commanding officer of his blockading flotilla to suffer all the vessels now up at Buenos Ayres to pass down the river unmolested, and to continue the blockade of that port as strictly as possible.'

On the 10th, Captain Heywood moored his ship off Buenos Ayres, and immediately waited on the Junta to deliver to them the despatches with which he had been charged by the British Minister; and, without observation or comment, took his leave. He also sent a letter to the merchants there to acquaint them briefly with the tenor of such parts of his orders as related to them.

14th. Captain Heywood waited on Dean Funes, one of the members of the Junta, to have some preparatory conversation with him on the subject of a

memorial shewn to him by some of the merchants, and intended to be presented to the Junta, praying for a reduction of the duties in this port; and having endeavoured to convince him how beneficial such a reduction would be to the public revenue of Buenos Ayres, as well as to the British merchants, the Dean expressed every desire and inclination to promote it with his influence.

'On the 20th, I had,' says Captain Heywood, 'an accidental conference with the President of the Junta. He very candidly, and without reserve, opened to me his political opinions, and laid before me the principles on which the Junta had been formed at Buenos Ayres, and now governed there. He assured me, that they had no desire to be independent of Spain further than any one province there was allowed to be independent of another, but that they could not submit to be ruled by a faction of Cadiz merchants, and others under their influence, who would have these Americas follow the fortunes of Spain, even if it became subject to France, in order that they might preserve to themselves the monopoly of trade to this Western part of the world, to the exclusion even of Great Britain. That this faction, or regency as they called themselves, had even gone so far lately as to vomit forth on this land reptiles, in name and guise Spaniards, but wholly in the interest of France, as governors, to supersede those against whom no complaint had been made. The chief object of

these traitors to their country was, to prepare the minds of the Americans for receiving the yoke they would impose upon them. *This,* he said, they felt it their duty to endeavour to ward off. They revered the name of their king, and had sworn to govern these provinces for him in his name. That they had an equal right with any province in Spain, to form a system of government for themselves, declared, as these Americas had been, to form an integral part of Spain. That the eyes of the people of South America were now open; they had breathed the air of freedom (on which, said he, smiling, you Englishmen thrive so well, and of which you have taught us to estimate the value). No! we never more can return to that abject state of vassalage, debased as we have been by so many tyrannical and illiberal restrictions for so many centuries—restrictions which went so far as even to forbid us to improve the land we live in, or to enlighten by instruction and knowledge the minds of our children. "Why, Sir!" continued he, warming into energy by the subject, "these Cadiz people would have us continue to be, what I blush to confess to you that my countrymen have been so long, *very bullocks*, to draw their luxurious carcases through the sloughs of sensuality! But no! it must not, cannot, be; for God, who sees the integrity of our hearts, will be our guide, and Great Britain will be our friend and protectress, on the principles of allegiance to our king, and mortal hatred to France, and every

thing like tyranny, or monopoly, or oppression, in our trade. On these grounds, said he, we stand. These are the rights we assert, and will defend against all opposition with our best blood and treasure. And if Great Britain will guarantee them to us, we will accept of her mediation as offered by Lord Strangford, in the despatch brought by you. At the same time, Sir, standing as we do now upon an eminence, we cannot stoop to ask of the man at Monte Video, who calls himself Viceroy of these provinces, or to offer to him terms of any nature."

'I did not think it was at all necessary, after this, to make any communication to the President respecting what had passed in the conference which took place with the Viceroy, but only observed, that I could not suppose Great Britain would feel any dissatisfaction at sentiments and principles such as he had expressed.'

While Buenos Ayres was blockaded by the Viceroy, Monte Video was also closely invested by the forces of the Buenos Ayres Government, who obtained some successes. In this posture of affairs Captain Heywood exerted himself, as opportunity offered, to promote peace and a good understanding between the contending parties, and to serve all ranks, both of Spaniards and Englishmen. On one occasion he procured permission from the Junta for a Captain Obregon, of the Spanish navy, an envoy of the Viceroy, who had placed himself under Captain Heywood's protection, to land and

offer terms of pacification. On another, he conducted a deputation of the Junta, at their request, down to Monte Video, to confer with the Viceroy, at whose suggestion the Junta availed themselves of the neutrality of the British flag, and the guarantee of its protection on this errand. At his request the Junta permitted a widow lady who had arrived from Cadiz, and had come up the river from Monte Video, to land and reside in Buenos Ayres. He succeeded, also, in obtaining the release of a number of old Spaniards who had been detected by the Buenos Ayres Government in promoting disturbances against it, and who were put in irons like common malefactors, though some of them were persons of rank and family. But the following transaction will shew the firmness and promptitude with which he performed his duties as a protector of his countrymen. Having heard from some of the British merchants, that during his absence at Monte Video, in consequence of the armed vessels of the Viceroy having thrown some shells into Buenos Ayres, the Junta had taken possession of three or four merchant vessels, and were fitting them out at Ensinada, under command of a person of the name of Taylor, an American, he went to the Junta, and informed the President that, situated as he was there, for the express purpose of protecting the subjects of his Britannic Majesty from any unjust effects of commotion, he could not suffer the masters of these vessels to be ejected from the command of them,

unless with their full and entire consent, and *then* only with the proviso that they were authorized by their employers so to dispose of their vessels. Hearing nothing immediately from the Junta in reply, and a report prevailing that it was their intention to fit and arm the vessels for hostile purposes against the Viceroy, Captain Heywood wrote the following letter:

'*To the* PRESIDENT OF THE JUNTA OF BUENOS AYRES.

'*July*, 1811.

'SIR

'It is with no less astonishment than regret that I have been informed, by letters from four masters, that their vessels have been forcibly taken possession of, at Ensinada on the 17th inst., during my absence down this river, by persons in arms acting under orders from their Excellencies, the Junta of Provisional Government. This harsh and extraordinary measure is fully described in legal protests made against it by those said masters, and now lying before me.

'In the first place, I beg leave to acquaint your Excellencies, that being sent to this river for the express purpose of protecting the commerce of His British Majesty's subjects, and of defending their persons and property from every unjust effect of commotion, as far as in me lies, I must consider this act of their Excellencies as of that description. My straight line of duty is therefore imme-

diately to set about redressing these grievances complained of by my countrymen. It is not for a British Naval officer tamely to look on and see any subject of his King thus dispossessed of his property afloat, by any government on earth, if that officer hold in his hand the means of preventing it. I am, therefore, in behalf of the owners of these British vessels, and on the part of the underwriters, to demand of your Excellency, that if these vessels be required for any mercantile purposes, the full value of them, in every sense of that word, may bonâ fide be paid into the hands of their masters. And yet, unless those masters have the authority of their employers, and be willing to dispose of the said vessels, I see not how I can justly suffer any transfer whatever to take place. If, on the contrary, these British vessels should be intended, as report gives out, to be fitted and armed for hostile purposes against those with whom this government is at war, considering the peculiarly delicate situation in which I am placed here, I am sure your Excellency will give me full credit for being actuated by the purest and most honourable motives, when, in the public character I hold, I hereby protest against this illegal seizure, and any such improper use of these said vessels; and moreover formally require that your Excellency will order immediately to be disembarked any armed force that may have been put on board, and now keep illegal possession of them; that they may be restored forthwith to their proper

owners and masters. Otherwise I shall be under the necessity of considering it as an unwarranted and unauthorized act of hostility against His Britannic Majesty's subjects, and cannot fail to make such a representation of the circumstances, and to adopt such measures, as the nature of the case may require. Meantime I have the honour to be, &c.,

'P. H.'

After considerable trouble and delay, this letter had its effect, and the vessels were restored.

But Captain Heywood began to feel doubts about the propriety of allowing the blockade of Buenos Ayres, so injurious to the British merchants, to continue, and he thought there was an inconsistency in his orders 'not to press commerce against the Viceroy's interdiction,' especially considering Elio as having a nomination only, and not a regular appointment to that post, and knowing that Vice-Admiral De Courcy had formerly gone down from Rio Janeiro to La Plata for the purpose of raising the blockade of the port of Buenos Ayres, when declared against it by a predecessor of Elio in the government at Monte Video. Both parties were desirous of monopolizing to themselves the foreign commerce for the sake of the duties arising from it; and it appeared to Captain Heywood unjust, that, because they disagreed in politics, one party should be allowed to injure the English by depriving the other of the benefits of the English trade.

With these doubts, he determined to sail to Rio Janeiro to have some conversation with Lord Strangford and the Vice-Admiral on the subject. An interview with them confirmed him in the opinion that his doubts were well founded, and led him to believe that the Vice-Admiral had not given his attention sufficiently to the subject, and had been too moderate in his language to the Viceroy, for whose disposition strong language was more necessary.

In November, Captain Heywood expected, and soon after received, permission to leave this station and return home. But before he did so, he exerted himself once more for the British merchants in endeavouring to procure the opening of a register at the Custom House of Buenos Ayres for the exportation of specie,—many of the British merchants having expressed great anxiety to avail themselves of so good and safe an opportunity as the return of the Nereus afforded to make remittances home. The Government, however, objected to it, on account of the scarcity of money in their own treasury, and because they had already refused to the Spaniards and their own countrymen permission to export it. They expressed regret at being obliged to adopt restrictive measures, more especially at the juncture of Captain Heywood's departure, as it might be in some degree prejudicial to the interests of an officer who, they confessed, had laid them under obligations

by the assistance which they were pleased to say he had given them, in endeavouring to restore peace between Buenos Ayres and Monte Video.

On the 10th of December, the Nereus sailed for England with such quantity of specie as could be got off by the merchants, who used every possible exertion to get over the restriction, and arrived on the 22nd of March, 1812, at Spithead. But before his departure, the following highly complimentary letters were addressed to Captain Heywood by the merchants whose interests he had so diligently and scrupulously protected, a diligence, sufficiently proved by the remains of several MS. volumes of his correspondence, called forth by daily occurrences.

'SIR,

'We have received the two letters dated the 21st of July, which you did us the honour of writing to us, accompanied with copies of those you had the goodness to address to his Excellency Don Francisco Xavier Elio, at Monte Video, respecting the British vessels illegally and forcibly detained in that port, and subjected, in consequence of the siege, to great distress for want of provisions.

'We beg leave to express to you our high sense of gratitude for these prompt and energetic exertions, and for the proofs you have been pleased to give us of your constant attention to protect and advance our interests since you came to this station. It is highly satisfactory to us to observe, and truly gra-

tifying to our minds to confess, that such dispositions are guided by judgment, temper, and conciliating manners; calculated to overcome difficulties and to fix our entire confidence in you. Being unanimously impressed with these sentiments, we request you will accept our sincere thanks for all the kind attentions you have been pleased to shew to his Majesty's subjects, individually and collectively, in the Rio de la Plata, since we have had the happiness of your presence amongst us, and our assurance of the personal esteem and high respect with which we have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servants,

(Signed by) 'ALEX. MACKINNON, Chairman,
And the Principals of forty-three Mercantile Houses.

'*To* PETER HEYWOOD, *Esq.*,
Captain, R. N., &c.'

'SIR, '*December* 8, 1811.

'Being now on the point of leaving this station, we cannot, in justice to our own feelings, refrain from repeating to you our sincere thanks for the constant and uniform attention you have been pleased, on every occasion, to shew towards our general and individual interests. The respectable manner, governed by good sense and temper, in which you have supported the dignity and honour of the British flag, under circumstances of much difficulty, cannot be sufficiently appreciated by private persons, but we trust the discernment of our Govern-

ment, and the liberality of our country, will recognize and reward such meritorious conduct. Allow us to assure you, that as we sincerely regret your departure, we have only to express to you the sentiments of high respect and esteem; and that we shall ever remember you with the warmest gratitude. We sincerely wish you a speedy and happy return to England, and uninterrupted success in rising to the summit of your honourable profession. With these unanimous sentiments, we have the honour to subscribe ourselves, Sir,

'Your much obliged and faithful servants.

(Signed as before.)

'*To* PETER HEYWOOD, *Esq.*, *R.N.*,

Captain of H. M. S. Nereus, and Senior Officer in the Rio de la Plata.'

On his return to England, Captain Heywood drew up, with the most disinterested views, a paper, which he designed to address to those whom it might concern, respecting the state of trade in Buenos Ayres and the neighbouring countries. He had formed an opinion, from what he had seen and learnt concerning the trade to South America, that it was unprofitable, and considered it would be blamable in him not to make an attempt at least to give to the public the information which he had acquired, supposing it would be of service to many. A few extracts from this paper will shew the acuteness of his observation and soundness of his

judgment. It contains hints probably still worthy of attention from those concerned in trade with the Spanish states of America.

'*Nereus*, *March*, 1812.

'Though I have not the presumption to suppose for a moment, that any opinion which I may consider it my duty to offer on a subject foreign to my profession, can have influence on commercial plans already decided on by mercantile men as promising profit; yet, as it may possibly make some "look before they leap," and, by creating doubt, promote inquiry among the better informed, I trust that this letter will, at all events, do no harm.

'Unacquainted with the nature of the engagements between merchants in England trading to the Rio de la Plata or Janeiro, and their agents at those places, I am not competent to judge whether the latter ought to endeavour (even if they think as I do) to check inclination at home still to export thither the manufactures of our country. Perhaps we have no right to expect them to make voluntary representations. Nor yet is it to be expected that those merchants at home who have failed in their expectations of profit, or even suffered loss by ventures to South America, will set themselves up as warning *beacons* to others, if it be commercial policy to conceal failure and loss. Men are generally averse to acknowledge the errors of their professional judgment, and that they have been deceived and

taken in. In such cases they make the best of their bad bargain, and bear the evil in silence. But even were a merchant, from pure good-will to the public, candidly to tell of his ill success in some particular branch of commerce, from which much had been expected generally, and to endeavour to dissuade others from following his example, is it not probable that some would ascribe his failure to bad management, and that vanity or hope would whisper in their ears, that they might do better? Nay, some would not even give him credit for liberal or disinterested motives; but, on the contrary, perhaps, suspecting him of concealing known advantages from a desire to monopolize, by checking competition, would plunge headlong into the difficulties which he warned them to avoid.

'I therefore venture now to offer such information as I have been able to gather, respecting the commerce to South America, and, after stating a fact or two, shall leave it to those whom it may concern to draw their own inference.

'The British commerce in the Plata, when I left Buenos Ayres in December last, seemed to me to be in a deplorable state of stagnation. Vessels had been there fourteen months, and their prospects of getting cargoes no better than when they arrived.

'In consequence of the free trade allowed in 1809, at Buenos Ayres, the importation of British goods soon exceeded, in all proportion, the wants and consumption of its population. The Spanish

merchants, flattering themselves that this free trade would be but of short duration, eagerly invested their disposable capital in British goods, which they either stored up for better times, or sent to distant provinces; and, under various devices, even to such other viceroyalties as had not then admitted the British commerce. Owing to these circumstances, sales were made to a greater extent than could reasonably have been expected, but they soon ceased to operate with the same vigour.

'Intestine political dissensions began, which would sooner have had a pernicious effect on our commerce, had not Chili, following the example of Buenos Ayres, opened its inlets to British commerce. Without considering the relative poverty and small consumption of Chili, goods were poured into that country as if it were an inexhaustible mine of wealth. The effect was soon evident. Sales could not be made in Chili, even at the prices of Buenos Ayres. At the close of the past year, 1811, the aspect of things entirely changed. Buenos Ayres lost its most valuable province, Upper Peru, which, containing all the metallic riches, not only contributed most effectually to the revenues of the state, but also consumed a large proportion of European goods. That country is separated from the Rio de la Plata by contending armies. But even if it were not, what resource can *it* hold forth, laid waste as it has been by military excesses, its wealthy population driven away, and its mines neglected?

Chili is overstocked, and Buenos Ayres can barely purchase sufficient for the consumption of the capital, or of its own immediate provinces. Many, indeed most, articles of British goods will not in these countries now realize the prime cost to the proprietors in England!. In the present unsettled state of the provinces, a return of any sort is most precarious; and without stability in the ephemeral government, such as that at Buenos Ayres has been lately, I am not at all clear that even a British merchant would be always sure of meeting with protection and justice in cases of difficulty, or of avoiding oppression by its subordinate officers. Neither hides nor tallow are now to be had in any quantity; and the members of the present executive government of Buenos Ayres declared to me, notwithstanding my representations of its illiberality and impolicy, that they would never permit the exportation of specie or bullion. And although, since I sailed from Buenos Ayres, the government there has reduced the duties on British imports generally, one-third, its only probable effect will be, a reduction of prices to the consumer, in the same ratio as that of the duty. Those who are at Buenos Ayres may gain by this reduction; but to the proprietor in England, who sends his goods there, the advantage seems to be merely nominal, and calculated to deceive him with fallacious prospects.

'I remain, &c., &c.,

'P. H.'

Captain Heywood sent a copy of the foregoing to a friend, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in order to have the private opinion of that Board as to the propriety of sending it forth among the British merchants, but he was told that their Lordships were of opinion, that it would be improper in him to address himself immediately to the merchants, and was recommended to write any thing he had to say on the subject officially to the Board, when, if thought necessary, it would be communicated to the proper boards or departments of government. 'I saw, however,' says Captain Heywood, 'that to make such communication was considered by the Admiralty as of a sort likely to check the *export* trade, (as *I* indeed intended it should, *locally*, to La Plata,) and that if I wrote to the Admiralty officially, it would stop there. I did not think it necessary to make any such fuss about a matter that so little concerned me; and therefore, as I felt it a point of conscience not only not to lead others astray, but to put those in the right way who were, in my mind, out of it, I informed my friend, "that, as an officer, I should move no further publicly in this matter, but, with the impressions made on my mind respecting commerce to La Plata, I should still feel bound as a *man* to dissuade, *privately*, all my own friends from pursuing, at least for the present, a line of commerce which I believed had already proved ruinous to but too many in Great Britain."'

Captain Heywood, whilst his ship was in dock, refitting, used his best endeavours to be sent out to the Mediterranean, at that time a scene of more active service. But a recent change of influence at the Admiralty proved unfavourable to his hopes. Many persons who had connexion with commerce to the Rio de la Plata, were desirous that he should be sent out to that station again, and even went so far as to say they would petition Lord Castlereagh for that purpose. In June 1812, he received a letter from his friend, Vice-Admiral Donnett, informing him that 'circumstances had occurred which induced government to send him back to S. America, in consequence of his *local knowledge*, and the very satisfactory manner in which he had conducted matters there before;' and on the third of the same month came the following from the first Lord of the Admiralty:

'Sir,

'The public service appearing to require that a frigate, not exceeding the Nereus in size and draught of water, should be sent forthwith to the River La Plata, I have been reluctantly compelled to select her at the present moment; though I am afraid that you would have preferred employment in some of the European seas. I will fairly own to you also, that having great confidence in your experience on that station, and in your discretion in your intercourse with the Spanish Authorities, I have not

felt myself justified on this occasion, with a view to the public interest, in foregoing the advantage to be derived from your services.

'I am, Sir,

(Signed) 'MELVILLE.

'*To Captain* PETER HEYWOOD.'

'In regard to this letter, as I saw that making difficulty or remonstrating would neither be proper nor tend much to mend the matter, I resolved to make the best of my bargain by reconciling my mind to the idea of another long voyage and absence from home, and therefore I wrote to his Lordship, saying, "I felt honoured by the receipt of his letter communicating to me the intended destination of the Nereus to La Plata, and that I hoped my future conduct would continue to be such as to merit his approval." I assured his Lordship also, "that, as an individual, no officer was more indifferent as to the quarter of the world he might be sent to than I was, and wherever the service called, I was ready always to go; but that, for the sake of my young officers and ship's company, I had been induced to endeavour to promote *their* desire, in common with *my own*, to be employed on some station of more professional activity than the one we last left, and were now doomed to return to, and I had therefore solicited to be sent to the Mediterranean, or to be attached to the Channel fleet. That this on my own account alone I should not have done, because in my mind

a notion of impropriety had always attached to the idea of a Captain's presuming to *choose* a place to serve in.'"

While Captain Heywood was waiting for his instructions on proceeding to South America, he received, in a letter from a friend, an intimation 'that he would have had a very complimentary letter on the occasion of his being again sent out to the Plata, had it not come to the knowledge of the Secretary of State, that he had made too many private communications to his friends, private individuals in England.' Now as this laid an imputation against his *prudence*, in the estimation of at least the Secretary of State, it drew from him a defence of his conduct, of which we give the following passage as an illustration of his usual independence of spirit and manly feeling.

*To Admiral * **

'*Nereus, Spithead, 9th July,* 1812.

'DEAR SIR,

'I was ordered by signal back from St. Helen's to this anchorage, yesterday, and had not time, after I received your obliging letter, to say how much I feel myself again indebted to you for the information it contains. I must be free to confess, that on most occasions I believe I am as indifferent as most men to any common, every-day, official compliments; and on this occasion, especially, I feel very little

concerned at having been debarred from receiving a mere public complimentary letter from any authority whatsoever, when much more substantial proofs have assured me, that my general conduct, while I was last in the Plata, was satisfactory to that authority under which I immediately serve. With *that*, and the approbation of my own heart, I have all that I want.'

On the 12th of July, 1812, Captain Heywood received his orders from the Admiralty, and sailed on the 15th, with a convoy of merchant vessels under his care, as far as they had a common course. On the 7th of September he arrived at Rio de Janeiro, and placed himself under the command of Rear-Admiral Dixon, and delivered his despatches to the Admiral and Lord Strangford. By these superiors in office he was left very much to his own discretion as to the course he should pursue with the contending governments of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. On one point, which caused him much anxiety whilst formerly on the station, he had taken care to obtain from the Admiralty particular instructions—viz. to ' protect the trade of his Majesty's subjects to and from Buenos Ayres, notwithstanding any measure taken by the government of Monte Video to obstruct the same, so long as his Majesty's subjects shall desist from carrying to Buenos Ayres articles contraband of war.'

On the 24th of September, the Nereus anchored

off Monte Video, and letters and intelligence were sent to the Governor, Don Gaspar Vigodet.

'Observing,' says Captain Heywood in his diary, 'several vessels in the harbour dressed in colours, on some occasion of public rejojcing, I sent ashore to inquire the reason. About eleven o'clock, two or three English gentlemen came on board in the cutter, and informed me that the new constitution for Spain, as established and sent out by the Cortes, was to be this day proclaimed in the city; and as this was an occasion favourable to my desire of conciliating the minds of the people of Monte Video, I immediately dressed ship, and joined in their public demonstrations of loyalty by firing a salute of nineteen guns. Afterwards I went on shore to pay my compliments to General Vigodet, and, accepting of his invitation to partake of the feast given in honour of the day, I was under the necessity, in my turn, of giving some appropriate toast. Placed as I was between two contending armies, so inveterate against each other, I could not but feel some little difficulty to select a sentiment that might at the same time be not only agreeable to the party I was among, but inoffensive to the other at Buenos Ayres, who would, in all probability, hear of it, as well as becoming in my own public character as an officer. I therefore wished, "A speedy restoration of peace and lasting tranquillity to these provinces, on the basis of loyalty to the Sovereign of Spain acknowledged by Great Britain, and a just conces-

sion of *Civil Liberty* to the natives of these Americas through the mediation of His Royal Highness George, Prince Regent of England." I was glad to observe that it was received with universal satisfaction by all at table; the Governor observing to me, that I should find, on reading the new constitution of Spain which had just been proclaimed in Monte Video, that the Regency had placed the native population of these Americas on a footing of perfect equality in point of political rights, and the protection of the laws, with that of the mother country; and there did not now, in his opinion, remain to them any just ground of complaint, or any grievances unredressed, to set forth as a plea for separation from the parent state.

'25th. This morning I had a good deal of conversation with General Vigodet, on the subject of the British commerce in the Plata, and found him to be a man of moderation and just principles, fully disposed to afford every possible facility and protection to the commerce of British subjects, direct to and from Great Britain and Europe and this river, under the conditions stipulated; but "local commerce between the ports subject to Buenos Ayres, and up the river, he felt bound to protest against, as injurious to the Spanish nation, in its endeavours to quell the insurrections," and upon this I did not feel myself at liberty to insist.'

On the 2d of October, Captain Heywood moored off Buenos Ayres, and found, after gathering all

the information he could of what had been going on since he sailed thence for England, all things in a worse state,—much discontent prevailing amongst all classes of people, not only against the government of the place, but against the English captain who commanded in his absence, for not having given sufficient support to the English in their lawful commerce, and for not resenting, in a proper manner, some indignities offered by the last government to his officers, and even to himself. He had suffered the Custom-house officers to search their persons, on suspicion of their having carried off specie, and thereby established a precedent that would be greatly pernicious to them, and degrading to the British naval character. This subject immediately occasioned Captain Heywood much trouble, as he was determined that neither he nor his officers should be subject to this indignity. It was only after a long and arduous correspondence, owing to the evasions and prevarications of the authorities on this point, and after a threat on his part immediately to quit the station unless his wishes were complied with, which they saw he would put in execution, that the Buenos Ayres government consented to allow his officers and himself to pass to and from their ship without interruption. Captain Heywood felt it necessary, in every possible way, to maintain the honour and respect of the British flag and government, as there was a disposition on the part of many in Buenos Ayres consi-

derably to undervalue the British power. Every opportunity was taken by them to circulate reports unfavourable to the English, respecting the war then going on in the Peninsula, and to encourage a more intimate connexion with France and the United States, whose government had just declared war against Great Britain, and whose agents were busy in the South American provinces to injure its interests.

The following extracts, relating to the government of Buenos Ayres, to the character of its inhabitants, and to the mode in which funds for carrying on the government, and enriching its members, were sometimes obtained, possess considerable interest, and may be of use to any one desirous of understanding, or hereafter engaged in drawing up, the history of the Spanish colonies in South America. For the same reason, two letters to the Right Hon. Lord Melville are also given; if they were not intended as public documents, they may now be considered as containing purely matters of history, at the same time that they shew Captain Heywood's diligent and faithful observation of what was passing around him, and his mindfulness of his duties as a British officer. There can be little doubt but these communications led Lord Melville to form that high opinion of Captain Heywood's merits, of which his Lordship afterwards gave such generous evidence.

'October 6, 1812. The town (Buenos Ayres)

was to-day in a very unsettled state, on account of differences of opinion respecting the election of new members for the government, which began yesterday, and in the course of the day another member was chosen, Don Manuel Oblegado, of whom the general voice spoke well and expected much; but there was an army faction not pleased with this election, and desirous of having some others put at the head of the government, who, like themselves, were more *patriotic*, a word much used by these wise people, without attaching any distinct meaning either to it or to liberty. During the night all was confusion, and the next morning, at day-light, troops were in possession of all the avenues to the Plaza. Through the influence of these gentlemen, the members who had been fairly chosen were voted out again, and they formed a government of their own *choice spirits*. It is impossible to conceive the disgust and consternation, too, that this business occasioned, and as far as respects our commercial concerns on shore here, our prospects are worse and worse. For Dr. Paso, who will most likely be all in all at the head of this government, as long at least as it lasts, being one of the chiefs of a faction, the most Jacobinical and violent, is extremely unfriendly to the English. His brother, who is at the head of the searchers at the Custom-house, is said to be ten times worse; and, besides that, rules Dr. Paso. General Puercedo, who was one of the best of the last government, and whom the generality

of the inhabitants of the city wished to be at the head of the government with the two who had been so fairly chosen, absconded from fear of the rabble. The government, therefore, at present may be considered as quite military, and in every sense of the word much more despotic than ever it was under the Viceroys. The contributions laid on the people, Creoles, as well as the old Spaniards, are becoming so frequent and heavy, that all men of common understanding and substance are beginning to wish for the old order of things. Then they had peace and quietness at least, and had not the prospect of losing both their property and their lives so constantly before their eyes. It is distressing to observe the wretched state to which these people have reduced themselves, by entertaining fanciful notions about Liberty and Independence, of which they have no ideas but the names. And as for a free government, so much have they been used to one of a different sort, that under one only very little so, would they be quiet. They are a most infatuated people. They fancy themselves equal to any thing. Yet, during the whole time they have had these provinces under their rule, not a single man of any talents above mediocrity has arisen, and so jealous and suspicious are they of each other, that if a man shews himself by his conduct to possess understanding and moderation, he is immediately set down to be a friend to the old Spanish cause. It is not at all likely that such a people as this will ever be able to effect

emancipation or separation from the mother country, if that be their real object, for they do not seem to me to possess any of the resources and qualities absolutely required to bring matters to such an issue, much less to maintain Independence. They would fall an easy prey to any great nation that sought to become their master. For want of some strong and permanent government every thing in this country is going to rack and ruin. The government which they have at present, being held only at the precarious tenure of the will of the military and the mob, the people can neither respect nor look up to for protection. Great changes have been effected in the general state of the public mind within the last twelve months. Had a commission of mediation been appointed a year ago, I believe they would have had nothing to say to the commissioners. But now, so wearied are the more reflecting part of the people with the unsettled state of things, that I am inclined to think they would willingly accept of the new Constitution for Spain, provided it could be secured to them under the guarantee of Great Britain, as it seems to embrace every object they can either desire or expect. They are, however, extremely averse to trust themselves entirely to their old masters.—Within the last ten months several French adventurers have arrived in this country from England, and some Spaniards, who pretend to have left their countries in disgust. They have been appointed to commands in the

army, and intrigue deeply, trying, by every underhand means, to create in the minds of the people distrust of the British government, and suspicions of their views towards these Americas. Too many, I am sorry to say, have received the poison into their minds, and seem less favourably disposed towards British commercial intercourse than they were some time back; for they are so unreasonable as to expect that we should assist them in their exertions to throw off the yoke of Spain, and are extremely indignant because they have not been taken any notice of by our government.'

'November 21.—I heard to-day that the government had compelled an old Spaniard of the name of San Valiente, the consignee of a vessel called the St. Anselmo, to pay 50,000 dollars, and some others 7000 or 8000 each, because that vessel, in her way out of the river for England, had put into Monte Video, and some old Spaniards, who had permission to take their passage in her to England, had gone on shore there. It appeared that these persons had no knowledge whatever that the vessel would put in there, and that the master had been compelled to go there by reason of the bowsprit being badly sprung on the passage down the river. The people fined were the nearest relations of the Spaniards who were the passengers in her. Thus a sum of about 140,000 dollars was raised for government. Another large sum was also raised by the government's setting aside the will of a man who had bequeathed

his property to a favourite female who had lived with him some years. This they did on the pretext that the man (whose real crime was, that he was an old Spaniard) had, as his Excellency said, a wife and children, and as the government was the proper guardian of orphans, the property of their deceased parent ought to be in its hand! Some of the relations of the people in the St. Anselmo, who were fined, were Creoles; and, if unable to pay, were confined till their friends could collect the money for them. Thus the property of those who are known to have any, is drawn into the fort by compulsion. All who have risen into opulence, by trade, are marked for prey whenever the necessities of the state may require; their property is daily diminishing, and the Creoles, who are generally poor, as well as the old Spaniards, are, under the present deplorable state of things, deprived of all means of acquiring property. Fear and consternation seem to pervade all classes of the people, as there is a rapid approach to that state of anarchy and confusion which takes place in all revolutions when the dregs are stirred up to the surface, and vice and infamy bear sway.'

'*Nereus, off Buenos Ayres.*

'My Lord, *December* 4, 1812.

'The time which I have had for observation and inquiry into matters connected with the state of affairs in this quarter, since I had last the honour of addres-

sing your Lordship on that subject, per H. M. S. Bonne Citoyenne, has afforded me, I am sorry to say, many opportunities of being convinced that the opinions which I had formed on my arrival at Buenos Ayres, were too correct.

'Events have passed before my eyes, ever since I have been on shore here, which shew the great change that has taken place for the worse, during the last twelve months.

'When I left this place, there was something like patriotism in the intentions and conduct of the then growing party, but now patriotism seems to be only a cloak for avaricious and unprincipled men to cover their selfish designs, to enrich themselves at the expense of their fellow-citizens and of their country.

'I have had a very disagreeable correspondence with this government, concerning a practice which it seems had been begun just before I sailed for England last year, and had become constant and habitual during the time the Bonne Citoyenne was here, —that of searching the officers of his Majesty's ships, on suspicion of smuggling. After a great deal of objection at first, the government has at length consented to discontinue such a particular and degrading mode of executing this fiscal regulation.

'By two vessels from Rio de Janeiro, we have just received the gazettes of the glorious successes obtained over the French by the allied armies in the

Peninsula, of which these poor deluded people would not believe one word before, and to which I hardly think they give credit yet. They have here a peculiar propensity to deceive every one about them as well as themselves; to believe every thing that may operate favourably for their cause, but to disbelieve, in toto, good news from Spain. The public attention is, at present, chiefly engaged in discussion on the subject of Independence. Plans for their new Constitution are forming. The deputies from the various towns of the province are expected to arrive here in the course of this month, and if this great news from Spain does not work any material change in the sentiments of those who, at present, hold the power and influence, I have little doubt but they will declare the independence of these provinces next month. Indeed, from all I can gather, the propriety, and even necessity, of this measure is pretty well determined by the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres; so that, though they may invite and take the opinions of the deputies of other places, I believe they have already made up their minds how to decide. They have been led to expect that great benefit will be derived from taking this step, by some citizens of the United States of America, who have been very busy in the politics of these people, endeavouring to persuade them that the government of the United States has taken the most lively interest in their concerns, and to make them believe that they may expect the most active assistance from it.

Many of these gentlemen, and particularly a Mr. Poinsett, who is styled the Consul-general of the United States, and who went over to Chili from hence when I was here last year, are particularly diligent and active in propagating doctrines and opinions prejudicial to the British government and subjects. Among other advantages to be gained by a declaration of Independence, they reckon on the government of Great Britain affording them those active succours which, under the present state of circumstances, are withheld from them. At all events it will put to the test whether they are to consider Great Britain the friend or enemy of the cause of Liberty and Emancipation.

'I am sometimes asked, what I suppose will be the conduct of our government towards them in the event of such declaration taking place, and what reception an envoy from this government would meet with in England? However, as I always cut these questions short, by assuring them that I meddle not in any of these concerns, and should feel it most presumptuous in me to give any opinion, even were I competent to form one, they leave me alone; but yet they press me on the question of my own conduct in that case; to which I always reply, that as I am to suppose the declaration of independence will not make it necessary for this government to alter its conduct, either towards British subjects or myself, neither need my conduct be altered. For as they are now acting independently, their

declaration to that effect will be a distinction without a difference. They are a most infatuated set of men, I mean the Creoles here, and particularly the people in power, and their partizans.

'The unfortunate failure of our expedition against this place, with a force that would certainly be amply sufficient, even now, to reduce the whole province, if properly disposed of and applied, and the time during which they have been going on without any opposition, besides other causes, have tended to raise in them the most extravagant ideas of their valour and great military talents: many of them fancy that the world in arms would not prevail against them.

'It is not to be wondered at, then, if a people so vain and ignorant as this, should most rashly put in execution whatever they take into their heads. But, whatever they themselves may think of the policy of the measure, or of the power and resources of this country to maintain independence, I am humbly of opinion that their means are quite inadequate, in every sense of the word. The pecuniary resource of the government has been, and is, in a great measure, derived from the duties on commerce; the greatest part of which is, of course, that from Great Britain. The whole of the military force, of which I have been enabled to obtain an account, amounts to five thousand three hundred men, and this I believe to be correct.

'The men governing at present are the tools of a democratic faction, composed of persons of very in-

different characters, and of the meanest extraction; and most of them men without either talents or virtue; but they have the military force here at their command, and though your Lordship will observe that it is not a force of any respectability in itself, to keep order in so large a city as Buenos Ayres, yet, as the troops of the government have all the arms in their hands, it is not a matter of much surprise, that a handful of armed men should overcome a multitude of such people as these, who are, generally speaking, peaceable and inoffensive.

'Since these unfortunate people have experienced some of the blessings of revolutionary governments, they rue the day in which they aided the European Spaniards to resist the British arms, and I have no doubt thousands here would now hail the approach of a British army as the greatest blessing heaven could send them, to keep peace and quietness by putting down the factions, and the ambitious, selfish patriots, and to preserve the country from the ruin that I much fear will be inevitable if things go on as they now do. The men in power are inveterate foes to the European Spaniards, whose property is frequently seized upon under pretexts the most frivolous and unjust. The contributions laid on all parties, but chiefly on them, are more and more frequent, and none of the latter are allowed to take their property away with them, even if they should be so fortunate as to succeed, at a great expense, in their endeavours to quit the place. All

possible means are taken to keep in this country the accumulated property of the European Spaniards, as they very naturally conclude, that it may be seized on when the necessities of the state require.

'A short time ago, the St. Anselmo, a merchant vessel, sailed from hence for England, with a cargo on board belonging to a Spaniard. Six or eight old Spaniards were permitted to take their passage. Bond to the amount of 60,000 Spanish dollars was given that she should not call at Monte Video. On her passage down the river, she sprung her bowsprit badly, and it was by this accident, and the badness of the weather, that she was compelled to put in there. Notwithstanding this, the bond was forfeited, and the government, under the pretext that the ship went there purposely, fined the owner of the cargo 35,000 dollars, and the friends of those who went passengers in her were compelled to pay 7000 for each, to the government, for having landed at Monte Video. Some of these relations happened to be Creoles, but they also were obliged to pay; and those who had not the means were obliged to borrow, and were imprisoned till the sum was raised.

'This act of the government has given general dissatisfaction, and it is in such ways as this, and by other similar means, that property is forced from those who are known to have any; but I much fear, that the state alone is not benefited by these measures. Those who have risen into opulence by industry and commerce, chiefly Europeans, are de-

tained in the country, and will be at the mercy of the mob, if things continue to go on thus. The Creoles themselves are generally poor, in comparison, for they are naturally indolent, much given to extravagance and pleasure, and very different from the old stock; yet there are of course exceptions to be met with. Under the present pitiable state of things, especially the total stagnation of trade of almost every sort, property, where it has been acquired, is rapidly diminishing; and even the few who are industrious, have neither business, nor, if they had, a prospect of security before them either to property or person. Thus it appears to me, my Lord, that every thing here is fast going to rack and ruin for want of a government. I do not say that it is necessary to be a good government; a strong, efficient one, permanent as long as might be necessary, would do every thing for the present. Among themselves, these people will never find one, strong but *just*. Yet among these South American statesmen there are not a few, who fancy themselves perfectly qualified to govern empires; and the height of their ambition is to get into the fort to exhibit their talents in the vice-regal chair, which, as well as the bust of his catholic majesty, is still allowed to remain there. But if Independence becomes the order of the day, which is very probable, both will most likely be removed.

'To let the poor people of this country go on thus, if there is any possibility of checking the growing

evils, must really attach criminality somewhere. The interference of some superior power or influence is absolutely requisite. It would save the country from approaching destruction, and be a blessing to the people. What would be thought of a man who, seeing his friend on a bed of sickness, and two of his children cutting each other with knives in a quarrel, would not stretch forth his arms to separate them, whether the children chose his interference or not; or even if the parent were to say, "leave them alone"? In this case, the parent state does not seem to have the means of settling by the strength of her own arm the deplorable differences here. No other power, I suppose, thinks it proper or delicate to interfere in these family dissensions, and I am persuaded that, by the people themselves, they never will be settled, but grow daily worse and worse, as they have done ever since they took their own affairs in hand. So that in the mean time the inhabitants of this most wonderfully fine country are falling fast into a state infinitely more pitiable than any to which they were subjected under the government of the old Spanish monarchy; and the immense benefits to individuals, and the resources to a government that might be derived from this vast country, are absolutely lost to the whole world.

'A day or two ago, I was introduced to a gentleman, a lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Peuco, who was going back to Chili (whence he came last year) on a joint commission from his own

government and this of Buenos Ayres, to make an exchange of quicksilver which they have here, and which is wanted in Chili for gunpowder—an article very scarce. This officer appeared to be a man of information in matters relating to his own country, and of a liberal mind. He is himself much attached to the English, and believes the greater part of his countrymen to entertain the same sentiments towards us. He told me he was persuaded it would be extremely gratifying to the government of Chili to have some sort of connexion with the British government, by which its friendly disposition towards England might be known, and that he should be most happy to lay before his government, on his arrival, any plan for commencing such a correspondence. If existing circumstances would not admit of diplomatic relations, he seemed to be of opinion that communications on mercantile affairs might be made to and received from some public agent of Great Britain.

'As I considered, my Lord, that some advantage might be derived from this favourable disposition of the people of Chili towards us, I assured this gentleman that if, on his return to Chili, his government should be found to hold such sentiments as he had expressed, and write to me some sort of official letter, I would give it all the attention in my power, by taking the earliest opportunity of transmitting it to higher authority. About eighteen months ago, Chili, my Lord, opened her ports to

foreign trade. Englishmen are well received there. But this opening trade is threatened with destruction from the jealousy of the Cadiz monopolists, established at Lima. The Viceroy, Abascal, has given orders to capture and condemn all foreign vessels, found with goods on board, in the Pacific, and three corvettes, of 150 men each and 20 guns, have sailed from Lima to cruize off the coast of Chili. From all the best information I have been able to gather, it would perhaps be worth while to give some consideration to this point, my Lord, and even to encourage this new channel of trade, by sending a frigate* round Cape Horn, at the proper season, to make the necessary inquiries, and, if thought of sufficient importance, to be stationed at Valparaiso for the protection of the trade on the West coast, and to return, when relieved, with such specie as could be collected for England. The sight of a British ship of war for that purpose would, no doubt, be most gratifying to the government and inhabitants of Chili, and would be valuable, if it were only to counteract the very unfavourable impressions which Mr. Poinsett, the American agent or consul, or whatever else he is, is doing his utmost at this moment to make against the English.

'Besides the consumption of our own manufactures, by the population of rather more than one million,

* Captain Hillyar was sent out in the Phœbe.

Chili is rich in produce; it has a great many gold mines, produces in great abundance wheat, barley, wine, butter, and cheese, and grows pines of a quality fit for masts and yards of ships, and timber of various sorts fit for ship-building. I wrote, some time since, to Rear-Admiral Dixon on the subject, but have not had the honour of his reply.

'The inhabitants of Chili are said to be a very quiet, orderly, and well-disposed, industrious people, and would have been willing to remain even as they were when the revolutionary system began here, had not such flattering prospects of advantage been held forth to them by the government of Buenos Ayres, of whose power, as a military people, they had been led to think very highly, on account of the failure of our expedition against this place. Some Englishmen here, at the commencement of this business, acted most indiscreetly and presumptuously, by feeding the people of this country with the hope of receiving great assistance from Great Britain in their struggle for freedom.

'In all this they find they have been deceived, and under the delusion they imposed upon the people of Chili, who, having little else than false statements made to them, followed blindfold the example of Buenos Ayres, and now again Mr. Poinsett is busy in contaminating the whole population on that side of the continent.

'As the news of the great successes in Spain will soon reach Chili, (for I have given Mr. Bulnes the

gazettes to take over with him,) it would not be difficult to counteract the bad effects of the poison which Poinsett is so industriously circulating. Captain Bulnes, from his influence, and the impressions made on his mind by what he has heard and seen during a twelvemonth's residence here, and by which he has been chiefly induced to propose an exchange between this government and his own for the articles each wants, as a pretext for him to get back to Chili, will, I have little doubt, do all he can to open the eyes of his countrymen to the true state of affairs, and contradict the falsehoods which this Poinsett has asserted and even published against the British government and subjects. I also read to Colonel Bulnes the letter which I wrote to this government on my arrival, agreeably to my instructions on that head, expressive of the disapprobation of His Majesty's government of the unauthorized language used by the Honourable Captain F* * *, in his correspondence with the government of Chili last year; and with this he was much pleased. From all I could gather in conversation with this officer, I am persuaded that the people of Chili, if once convinced, as I think they may be, that they have been deluded, and have hitherto been acting under false impressions, might be prevailed on, with no very great difficulty, to accept of the new Constitution for Spain, under the guarantee of our government, and I think this will be pressed by Col. Bulnes, when he gets back to Chili, as a

point worthy of the most serious consideration of his government.

'It was, and is to be understood, that this conversation with this gentleman was founded merely upon our own opinions as individuals, though not without a prospect that something more might hereafter be made of it by Authorities. Even here, the bulk of the inhabitants have been so wofully disappointed in the hopes and expectations which they were led to form at the beginning of the revolution, and have so little prospect of becoming independent, whatever the few in power and their partisans may think, that I do sincerely believe if these wrongheaded men could be displaced, the same measure might somehow or other be brought about.

'When the Commission of Mediation was expected to come out, all people of moderation and good natural sense hoped and believed that good would result to the country; and since the news has reached us that it is abandoned, it has produced feelings of sincere regret amongst many. All things considered, the situation to which the people of these provinces are reduced is most deplorable; for which way soever they cast their eyes, no remedy appears, without the interference of some superior power to aid and support them. Should they resolve to place themselves at the mercy and accept the constitution of their old masters, what security (say they) shall we have that the terms and articles of it will be regularly observed towards us,

or even against the oppression we have so long groaned under? They dread also, and, no doubt, with some reason, the vengeance that might await them from recollection of the injuries which the European Spaniards suffered under the government of their Creole brethren. And yet I do sincerely believe, that, of themselves, they will never secure prosperity to this country; and from their total want of talents or means to accomplish any end they propose, and from various other physical causes which operate against them, the prospect of better times must be very remote indeed. Though the news from Spain, of the great successes of the allied armies over the French, has really been received here, by the government, with evident regret; yet, still wishing to preserve appearances, the reply of the Secretary to my letter of the 2d inst., expresses a satisfaction that was not felt, and at the latter part of it there was an expression of the most studied ambiguity. The Europeans rejoice at the news; it raises their hopes of receiving succours from the mother country, and of being yet once more invested with power, and of being again in possession of the ancient monopoly of trade. By both classes, I am sorry to say, the English are looked upon with eyes of jealousy and suspicion, and by neither are we considered sincere friends. The European Spaniards, under the cloak of friendship, conceal antipathy and deadly hatred towards the English, to whom they attribute the disturbances

in these Americas, and, consequently, every evil and privation which themselves have suffered. And there can be no doubt that, if the European Spaniards now had, or shall ever again have, it in their power to exclude us entirely from these countries, they will do every thing to injure us that *fear* will let them; and *that* I do believe to be the sole principle operative on the conduct (either public or private) of the race of Spanish extraction here. Little else, generally speaking, induces to right or prevents wrong conduct in either man, woman, or child. The glorious struggle which Great Britain is making in the Peninsula, they none of them ascribe to principles of generous and liberal policy, but to motives entirely selfish. The Creoles, looking to this country as every thing, and Spain as nothing, are constantly accusing Great Britain of being unmindful of her own true interest, in not granting assistance, in some shape, to these countries, (from whence she may derive such great advantages,) as well as to the Europeans in the mother country, "who," say they, "the moment they no longer require her assistance, will shew themselves her greatest enemies, and oppose every means she may use to carry on commerce with these Americas." Many of them openly say, "If Great Britain, whom we prefer, will not afford the assistance we want, we must get it somewhere else." Indeed, I have heard, that an agent was actually sent, some months back, to France, by way of North America, to solicit for

arms and *officers* to be sent out here; but I cannot get at the fact. The natural preference of the people of this country (generally) is, beyond all doubt, to the English, and that for reasons of policy most obvious. But in want of assistance, as they are, of every sort, I believe they will neither hesitate to ask nor to receive it from any government. There has appeared certainly, of late, a connexion of some sort with France; yet I am humbly of opinion, my Lord, that not inclination, but necessity, will compel them to concert measures, with the common enemy, for their own safety. It would, therefore, be well to endeavour, by timely, possible, and proper means, to check in the bud the growth of so serious an evil; for, when once it has taken root, it would perhaps be a most arduous task to get the better of it.

'I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

'My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

'P. H.

'*The Right Honourable Lord Viscount* MELVILLE.'

'*H. M. S. Nereus, off Buenos Ayres.*

'MY LORD, *27th Jan.* 1813.

'Since I had last the honour of addressing your Lordship, per ship Braganza, about a fortnight ago, affairs have been going on here tolerably quiet, though, within the last six weeks upwards of one

thousand old Spaniards have been banished to the interior on various pretexts, deemed sufficient.

'The late intelligence which we have received from the North of Europe, up to the 13th of November, and from other quarters has made them pause about declaring their Independence, and at present they are all very quiet on that subject.

'An event of some importance happened on the 23d instant, and I am in hopes it will not only be of service to the people of the country, but remove some obstacles to British commerce, and produce a further favourable change in the governments. I am doubtful whether I mentioned to your Lordship, in former letters, any particulars concerning the influence which a man of the name of Francisco Paso had obtained by cabal and intrigue over the government here, of which his brother, Don Juan Jose Paso, is the President. These two men are the sons of a baker, and Don Jose is a lawyer of application, intriguing and very ambitious. He was Secretary to the first Junta, and contrived to hold his ground when Mareno (who died in his passage to England) fell, and when the deputies forced themselves into the government in December 1810. He was connected with the party of Mareno which failed in opposing the President in 1811, in the month of April, and though they were all banished, he escaped their fate by pretending ill health, and other manœuvres. He afterwards affected to coalesce with the triumphant party, and was a leading

member of the Deputation which I took down to Monte Video, to treat with General Elio, concerning that peace which soon afterwards ensued. It was soon after our return hither, in September 1811, that Juan Paso joined with Savratea (now Captain-general and Commander-in-chief of the forces of government on the opposite bank) and Chiclana, to establish a Triumvirate, of which he became the junior member. They drove the Junta and incorporated Deputies of the other towns, back again into private life. It was stipulated that one of the members of this Triumvirate was to retire every six months, and Paso accordingly retired last, when Pucyerridan was chosen in his place. Though it has been decreed that a retired member cannot be elected under a lapse of ten months, yet in October last, just after I came here, when the fair and just election was set aside through the intrigues of the Pasos, Don Juan Jose was chosen President of the government, with Pena and Jonte for his colleagues. Since then he has been powerfully supported by his brother Francisco, whose situation placed numbers of revenue officers under his controul and pay; and by his intrigues and influence outside the fort, he made even the government within it subservient to him. His employment as a commandante of the Resquardo placed very considerable sums at his disposal, from seizures and other means, and the reports have been current here (but published in Gazettes at Monte Video), that he advanced 23,000

dollars to the officers of some of the corps, and thereby secured the election of his brother to the Presidency. The people of this city, already tired of the tyrannical rule of this Paso faction, have been for some time past endeavouring to accelerate the assembly of the Deputies, under the hope of effecting changes in the government, as well as in the system at present pursued, and Francisco Paso, at the same time has been trying every possible means to counteract their efforts; but fortunately he has been too cunning even for his own understanding, as such distorted-minded men generally are, and has himself fallen into the very snare he laid for others. It was discovered, on the 22nd inst., that he had been again tampering with the commandantes of corps, through the intervention of some corrupt tools of his faction, in order to gain them over to his side; and as he succeeded before in procuring the election of his brother by means of the military, he hoped again to overawe the approaching election, and, by the same means, to keep his brother in his seat. But he was betrayed, accused, and detected; and at daylight, on the 23d, was, by order of the government, seized in his own house, and banished immediately, as well as his accomplices, under an escort of dragoons, up to San Juan, where he now remains.

'No sooner was this man got rid of, than a fair election took place, and four Deputies were chosen that day for Buenos Ayres. I am told that several charges of enormity have been laid against Francisco

Paso, some of which, it is supposed, if proved, will bear hard even against his life, inasmuch as he has done that for which old Spaniards have lately suffered death. His brother, the President, who happened to be out of town, and knew not of his arrest and banishment till he returned, continues as yet in that situation, but, as the assembly, it is reported, will meet on the 31st, it is very probable he will be voted out. It is hard to say what sort of men the next may be. One man is talked of, who, it is likely enough may succeed,—Don Juan Sarrea. He is a Catalonian, of most active and turbulent ambition. His property is much questioned, for though he has had opportunities of amassing property, he has also contributed largely, on occasions, to party objects. He was one of the conspirators, against Linius, with Abzaga, (who was shot last July in the Plaza,) and he was imprisoned for some time afterwards. Though born in Spain, he is a decided advocate of American liberty and independence. He was banished to St. Juan in April, 1811, (being one of Morena's cabal against Saavedra,) and recalled in September following: however he only arrived here a few weeks ago, and is now canvassing for a seat in the government, at the next election. One of his brothers has entered into the new corps of cavalry commanded by San Martin. This corps will have more weight in an election than the whole city of Buenos Ayres *united*, if union could possibly happen. Sarrea, whilst in the government before,

was, I understand, a decided friend to the English, and to our commerce. He is well acquainted with mercantile affairs, a man of some experience and knowledge, having passed considerable time in England and in various parts of Europe.'

'February 7th.—Intelligence having reached us here, on the second instant, of the unfortunate capture of the Java, by the United States frigate, Constitution, on the thirtieth of December last, the vessel by which I send this letter has been detained. Other reports give out that some privateers are also on the coast of Brazil as well as the Essex frigate, Hornet, and Wasp, American sloops of war. I have thus a farther opportunity given me of acquainting your Lordship that the Assembly of Deputies for the towns and provinces, (all chosen in the city of Buenos Ayres,) met on the 31st ult.; the official and unexpected ratification of which made to me by Mr. Secretary Guido, I have transmitted by the Emerald. As I am perfectly aware of the motive of his Excellency for directing such communication to me, I simply acknowledged the receipt of it. This Don Carlos Alvear, who has been nominated President of this sovereign Assembly, is one of the adventurers who came out in the ship George Canning, from England, of whom I made mention to your Lordship in a former letter.

'This august assembly is composed of characters of similar stamp—men without respectability or connexion, but turbulent, ambitious, democratic de-

magogues, who, in revolutionary times like these, have every thing to gain, and little to lose but their heads. In this Assembly is vested the legislative, and indeed all, authority and power. Its decrees, signed by the President and one of the Secretaries, are to be the law. The executive power is lodged in the Triumvirate, as before, but is entirely subservient to the sovereign Assembly; as yet it is composed of the same men, Paso, Pena, and Jonte. Under the present order of things, it matters little who are to be the speaking trumpets of the Assembly, and therefore, as the power and influence of this Triumvirate is now reduced to little or nothing, they will cease to be the objects of envy and ambition, and it is likely they may remain where they are for a time longer. The chiefs of the army, under the government before Monte Video, are at variance. Artigas will not submit to serve under Savratea: he has entirely withdrawn from him, and has not only cut off the supplies for the army under Savratea, but is furnishing Monte Video with cattle. In consequence of these dissensions, it is rumoured here, that the siege will be raised, and the troops withdrawn from that side of the river, and then sent up to reinforce Belgiano, in Peru, who, it is said, is on his march from Tucaman to Salta. Since the last sortie from Monte Video, of which I sent your Lordship an account by the Braganza, General Vigodet has sent a small expedition up the river above this place, which has failed in its object, whatever it

may have been. A salute was fired at Buenos Ayres yesterday, in celebration of the *victory they say* they have gained. On hearing, some days ago, that the Monte Videans had landed up the river, Col. San Martin was sent off with one hundred and fifty of his regiment to oppose them ; one hundred infantry went with him, but could not keep up for want of post horses on the road. At Capillo de San Lorenzo, about sixty leagues from Buenos Ayres, San Martin fell in with his enemy, about two hundred and twenty, whom he attacked with inferior force, and defeated, killing and wounding forty, and taking ten prisoners, two pieces of cannon, and a standard. The rest precipitately retired to their vessels, whose guns prevented their retreat from being cut off. On the Buenos Ayres side eight were killed and wounded, and, among the latter, Col. San Martin. Thus they tell the story here. That of the Monte Videans may be very different.

'The *Sovereignty* is busily employed in the arduous task committed to that *elevated authority* to which it has been raised. Yesterday an order was passed by it to the Executive, for all Europeans holding employments under government, and who shall not become citizens within fifteen days, to be dismissed the service. Many deserving persons, who have passed their lives in a public office, and are thoroughly acquainted with its routine, will, no doubt, be turned out to make room for some wild, ignorant Creoles. No small confusion, in various

departments of the government, will, in all probability, be the consequence. On Monday last, the Bishop of Salta was ordered to appear before the Sovereignty only to take the oaths. He went in robes becoming his situation as a prisoner, and separated from his diocese. He was ordered back, and desired to come in the robes he would put on before Ferdinand VII., and to know that that Assembly was Sovereign now, and probably represented a greater sovereign than any European monarch. The Bishop retired, and went yesterday dressed according to order, was admitted, took the oath, and was ordered to withdraw, without even common civility having been shewn him.

'I am happy to say that the most cordial harmony at present subsists between the officers commanding the Marine forces and myself and officers, as their vessels frequently anchor near us, and friendly civilities are interchanged. I occasionally correspond with his Excellency General Vigodet, in such style as allows me to shew his letters to the government here as I receive them, as well as my own, to a person in their confidence, with whom I am on intimate terms, which entirely destroys the operation of that suspicious jealousy which is so very prominent a feature in the Spanish character. All local political subjects are avoided, and none ever touched upon except such as are connected with our common cause in the Peninsula or other parts of Europe; and as both parties are aware that

I am averse to hold any correspondence with one that the other may not be acquainted with, they are, of course, guarded in their language, so that I avoid being placed in a dilemma.

'The Consul General from the United States to this place, of whose appointment I wrote your Lordship, per Braganza, is not yet arrived, nor can he, I imagine, under the present state of things be now expected. All things considered, it becomes daily more and more desirable that some sort of agent from England should be sent out in some commercial official character, (if the nature of things will not admit of his being invested publicly with any diplomatic office,) to observe and give information about what is going on here, and to counteract the unremitting efforts which our inveterate enemies, the citizens of the United States, are making against us; and it is very much to be wished that one or two small vessels of war should be stationed in this river, where it is utterly impossible for a ship of the class and draft of water of the Nereus, very frequently, to act at all, or even to defend herself against any inferior force drawing three or four feet water less, when she is, by the sudden subsidence of the water in the river, immovably fixed in the mud. Large ships, drawing more than fifteen feet water, may, when lying off Buenos Ayres, impress its rulers and inhabitants (ignorant as they all are of nautical affairs) with more awe, but they are absolutely unfit for the protection of the commerce

of this river, and, in many points, less effective for the defence of merchant vessels against the attacks of vessels of light draft of water, than small vessels would be. No ship should ever be sent up this river drawing more than sixteen feet; the Nereus draws eighteen feet five inches, and for a distance of thirty miles I have been obliged to press her along in eighteen feet, and sometimes less in the deepest water to be had; and where we now lie, eight miles from Buenos Ayres, we have frequently less than fourteen feet water alongside, and the ship as firmly fixed as a church, and just as equal to defend what her guns would not reach, and her boats might not be equal to. These evils, my Lord, added to the consideration that there is not in this country a man who would take charge of this ship off my hands as a pilot, make the responsibility I feel here of no small weight. I, however, do my best, and hope for the best.

'I have the honour to be, &c.,

'P. H.

'*To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount* MELVILLE.'

The two following letters refer to an incident, which they themselves sufficiently explain. They are introduced as giving a pleasing instance of Captain Heywood's benevolent disposition, and his promptitude in acting for the relief of a suffering fellow-creature. The first, addressed to Admiral De Courcy, was placed in Captain Heywood's hands

as the commanding officer on the station, and is as follows:

'*Falkland Islands, Feb.* 22, 1813.

'SIR,

'I beg leave to acquaint you that a merchant ship, the Isabella, bound to Europe from Port Jackson, Hyson master, whence she sailed fourth December last, struck upon a rock the ninth instant. There were fifty-four souls on board, including fourteen marines placed under my command by his Excellency, Governor Macquaire. The ship's boat, which was immediately fitted out, has this day sailed to endeavour to find out a settlement, as the island we were cast upon, one of the most Eastern, is uninhabited; and, should she fail in the attempt, will proceed to Rio. Lieutenant Lundin, of the 73d regiment, accompanies a Mr. Brookes in the boat, with four seamen and one of the marines; they will be able to give every further information respecting our present state. To add to my personal afflictions, I have a wife and child, and Mrs. Durie expects to be confined immediately. Confident that you will have the goodness to order a vessel for our preservation, I have the honour to remain, &c., yours,

'ROBERT DURIE, Capt.,
Second Battalion, 73d Reg.

'*To Admiral* DE COURCY.'

'*H. M. S. Nereus, April* 2, 1813.

'SIR,

As misfortune was one of my earliest acquaintances, and having more than once borne myself the painful privations incident to shipwreck, I can, therefore, by experience and fellow-feeling, judge of and sincerely commiserate the distressing situation to which you have been reduced by the loss of the Isabella on the Falkand Islands. Your misfortune is the more deplorable, from the peculiar circumstances of a family nature, deprived as your lady perhaps is of every comfort and convenience her situation so much requires. I was extremely sorry I had it not in my power to send any vessel immediately to your relief, on the 31st ult., when Lieutenant Lundin providentially arrived in the Boat, and delivered to me your letter addressed, on the king's service, to Admiral De Courcy, acquainting him with your disaster, and requesting a vessel might be sent for your preservation. The only vessel of his Majesty's at the moment, or now, under my orders, was the Nancy, a small armed brig, and she had recently arrived here with the loss of masts and bowsprit, and was that very day coming into the inner road, to be remasted and fitted for sea. Nor was there any merchant vessel that it would have been proper for me to hire for that particular service.

'Every possible exertion has, however, been used to put the Nancy in a fit condition to proceed; and

as Lieutenant Lundin and Mr. Brooks tell me, that the greater part of the provisions, and other necessaries, was saved from the wreck, I shall cherish the hope that Lieut. D'Aranda, who commands the Nancy, will arrive at the island you exist on, in sufficient time still, (if it please God,) to deliver you and all your fellow-sufferers, — more particularly before the pain of hunger, and the severities of the approaching winter, are felt by your little babes and their afflicted mother. I wish the vessel and her accommodations were more suitable, but the Lieutenant will, I am sure, do every thing in his power for their comfort, that you desire and the brig can afford. I can only further express my regret that the nature of my orders, and the particular service on which I am employed in this river, put it entirely out of my power, under present existing circumstances, to hasten myself to your relief in the Nereus, as I could have wished.

'I beg you to be assured, Sir, that I shall pray for your happy deliverance, a favourable passage, and a safe arrival here. I remain, in the mean time, with truth, your sincere and faithful servant,

'P. H.

'*To Captain* ROBERT DURIE,
Of H. M. 73rd Regiment.'

On the 24th of May, 1813, H. M. S. Aquilon arrived from Rio de Janeiro to relieve Captain Heywood. The British merchants expressed a desire

for him to remain three weeks or a month longer, to give them sufficient time to get all their affairs arranged and accounts closed to go by the Nereus, a desire with which Captain Heywood kindly complied, though he was extremely anxious to return home.

'10th of June. The news brought by the Justinian,' continues the diary, 'of the state of affairs in the North of Europe, together with reports of about 4000 troops being embarked at Cadiz, and nearly ready to sail for Monte Video for the purpose of relieving that fortress, and to quell the revolution in these provinces, seeming to operate a good deal on the public mind, as likely not only to retard very much their exertions for freedom and independence, but also to give vent to a large portion of the British commerce through the continent of Europe, which might otherwise find its way out to this river, I considered it a good opportunity to endeavour to convince those members of the government with whom I had occasion to talk on the subject, of the absolute necessity of holding forth, as speedily as possible, every encouragement in their power to British merchants to send out goods,—by lowering the duties, repealing their decree imposing consignees on the foreigner trading to Buenos Ayres; and, moreover, without a moment's delay, permitting them to export the precious metals. They must be aware, I observed, of the great loss of revenue the government annually suffered by the extraction of it in a clandestine way, a proceeding

which, of course, would continue until they could make those of their own officers, whom it empowered to prevent smuggling, faithful to their trust; who now, one after the other, it was but too evident, made fortunes at the expense of the revenue.'

Captain Heywood's reasonings produced their effect: on the 16th, a motion was made in the assembly, for opening a register at the Custom-house for the exportation of specie and bullion, and favourably received; and on the 23d, a decree was passed to permit, in future, the exportation of the precious metals, on which the Captain observes, that 'these folks, like others, will gain wisdom as they grow older.' The following letter was addressed to Captain Heywood on this subject by the merchants of Buenos Ayres, and it need scarcely be said that it received the attention which it deserved.

'*Buenos Ayres, 8th July*, 1813.

'SIR,

'The lively interest you have always so kindly taken in the welfare of this trade, leads us to hope that you will not deny us your assistance to make known to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and to the Board of Trade, the very great disadvantages suffered by the British merchants trading to the Rio de la Plata.

'Your own observation during the time you have been amongst us will, we doubt not, suggest to you the justice of our complaints, and will enable you

to explain their causes more correctly than any information we can pretend to give; at the same time we would take the liberty to call your attention to some of the leading points, in the hope that our joint efforts may succeed in obtaining their remedy.

'The distance we are removed from England naturally requires a long time for realizing the adventures of our friends; consequently the trade is but ill able to bear any delay which can be avoided.

'Our first object, therefore, is to obtain a direct communication with England by ships of war; of which, ever since the opening of this river to British commerce, we have been deprived. Merchant vessels coming here with convoy, (they are not now allowed to sail singly,) have been obliged either to go into Rio de Janeiro, in the hope of a ship of war being about to sail for the southward, or expose themselves to the danger of proceeding hither unprotected—the extent of which is latterly much increased, as the recent capture of three rich merchant vessels for this port, after having parted from the Rio de Janeiro convoy, evidently proves.

'We next come to the delay to which we have been subjected in making our returns, of which the principal must necessarily be bullion, which, from the few ships of war sent here to carry it home, we have frequently been obliged to risk by merchant vessels, or allow our friends to suffer the greatest distress from their funds lying so many months on board a ship of war off this city. We beg leave to

instance H. M. ship Bonne Citoyenne, which vessel lay at this anchorage from March till October, 1812, and the ship under your command from the last-mentioned date to the present day, during which periods little less than one million of dollars in specie were forwarded by merchant vessels, under excessive rates of insurance, in hopes of relieving the distress occasioned by the long detention of British funds on this side. How much more advantageous it would have been to those concerned to have sent so large a sum by ships of war, had they sailed oftener, it is unnecessary to point out.

'We believe the bullion carried by H. M. ships Lightning, Nereus, Laurestinus, and Bonne Citoyenne, November 1811, considerably exceeds four million and a half of dollars, and, we presume, a trade affording such returns, may be considered of some national importance, and deserving of that protection and encouragement which it is the object of the present application, through you, to procure.

'We wish to confine ourselves to these points, conceiving them to be most easily remedied, and which, with your kind assistance, we would fain hope will be taken into consideration, and found of sufficient importance to induce government to order convoys to proceed direct to this river, and to appoint vessels of war to sail more frequently, without prolonging their passages by touching at Brazil, or

taking home convoys of so much less value than the remittances they convey.

'We cannot, Sir, conclude this letter, without offering you our sincere thanks for the universal attention you have shewn the British interests in this country, and assuring you, (should it be agreeable to yourself,) that it will give us very great pleasure to see you again senior officer, on this station.

'We have the honour to be, Sir, yours, &c.'

(Signed by the British residents at Buenos Ayres.)

On the 15th of July, Captain Heywood sailed from Buenos Ayres to join Admiral Dixon at Rio Janeiro, where he arrived on the 26th. He found the Montagu and Hermes there. 'Waiting on Admiral Dixon, he, to my no small surprise and still less satisfaction,' says Captain Heywood, 'acquainted me, that not thinking it advisable to risk in a frigate so large a sum as the Nereus had on board, it was his intention to appoint me to the command of the Montagu, and that I might carry it home in her, *and Captain Dixon, his son, should take command of the Nereus.* As I felt any thing but gratification at this unexpected arrangement, I received the communication in silence. As my servitude of ten years in a frigate had expired, I could not remonstrate against it as a hardship, and had nothing left for it but passive obedience, consoling myself with the idea of being put in possession of more adequate means of dealing with the

American frigates than my poor old Nereus afforded. I begged, however, to be allowed to take with me such of my officers, with a few men, as might be desirous of going into the Montagu with me, and succeeded in all my officers but Mr. Warner, the master. As he had much local experience in the Plata, whither the Nereus was again to be destined, and the master of the Montagu did not wish to exchange, I could not have Mr. Warner with me. The poor fellow severely felt the disappointment and unexpected separation from his old messmates, who were all mutually and strongly attached to each other, and to him in particular.' At ten o'clock, therefore, on the 30th of July, Captain Heywood took the command of the Montagu, and he arrived at Spithead in her on the 26th of September following. On his arrival at home he transmitted to the Committee at Lloyd's, and also to the merchants of Liverpool, a copy of his observations on the River de la Plata. From both quarters he immediately received the thanks of the merchants for his kind attention and valuable remarks. The following is the letter addressed to Captain Heywood by the Secretary at Lloyd's:

'SIR, *Lloyd's, 30th Sept.*, 1813.

'I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 26th inst., transmitting your observations on the navigation of the River de la Plata, and beg leave to acquaint you, that it has

been laid before the Committee for managing the affairs at Lloyd's, who have directed me to request that you will be pleased to accept their thanks for this important communication, and beg to be informed if they have permission to print the remarks, with the sanction of your name, for the benefit of the trade to and in the River Plata.

'I am, with respect, Sir,

'Your obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) 'JOHN BENNETT, Jun., *Secretary.*'

To this Captain Heywood replied, in a letter dated 2d Oct., 1813, that as his object in offering them the few observations he had been enabled to make in the navigation of the Plata was the safety of vessels employed therein, and the benefit of underwriters connected therewith, the Committee were at liberty to make the communication to the *masters* of *such vessels* as might be *destined thither*, in whatever way they found most convenient to themselves, or most likely to be conducive to the end proposed. The observations were accordingly printed in the form of a pamphlet, and twelve copies presented to Captain Heywood for his own use, and as a further acknowledgment, on the part of the Committee at Lloyd's, of his attention to the interests of that trade, by favouring them with his remarks immediately on his return to England. They are nearly all embodied in the valuable work of James Horsburgh, Esq., 'Directions for Navigating

the Indian Seas,' and their merit and importance may there be seen as they are gratefully acknowledged.

Shortly after his return the merchants of London, connected with the trade of Buenos Ayres, addressed a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, expressive of their high sense of the value of Captain Heywood's services, and leaving on record a most honourable testimony to his merits as an officer and a man.

'*To the* LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

'*London, 9th Oct.*, 1813.

'MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

'The accounts which we have some time past received from our Agents in the Rio de la Plata, stating the advantages derived to our commerce in that quarter from the judicious and impartial conduct of Captain Peter Heywood, late Commander of H. M. S. Nereus, impose on us the pleasing duty to express to your Lordships our gratitude for the selection of that meritorious officer for that station, in the difficult situation of preserving a strict neutrality between contending and exasperated parties, and at the same time effectually protecting the British trade. Captain Heywood has not only attained these objects, but, at the same time, conciliated the respect and confidence of the Spanish authorities at Monte Video, the government of Buenos Ayres, and of the British residents in those countries. The government of Buenos Ayres has,

on this occasion, addressed H. M. Embassador, Lord Strangford, at Rio de Janeiro, for the purpose of acknowledging their high sense of Captain Heywood's conduct during his command in the Rio de la Plata. We also are persuaded that the permission lately given by the government of Buenos Ayres, for the exportation of specie, was in a great measure owing to the influence of Captain Heywood, who has most probably insured to us the permanent facility of receiving remittances in specie without risk.

'We trust, that, under these circumstances, your Lordships will excuse us for this public declaration of our sentiments, and permit us to express a hope, that, provided the public service allows it, Captain Heywood may again be employed on that station, for which his abilities and local knowledge so eminently qualify him.

'We have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

(Signed)

'T. & R. M'Kerrell,
Samuel Winter,
O'Reilly, Young, & Co.
Hallet, Brothers, & Co.
John Hodgson,
William Hayne & Co.
Thomas Hayne & Co.
Brown, Rogers, & Brown,
Jacob Wood,
Nicholls, Sewell, & Co.
Fulton & Co.'

Soon after his return home, Captain Heywood was ordered to the North Sea, where he remained under the command of Sir William Young, and afterwards of his present Majesty, then Duke of Clarence,

until the restoration of Louis the Eighteenth. The Montagu accompanied the Bourbons to their native shores, and was afterwards employed to bring home the troops from Bourdeaux as the flag ship of Rear-Admiral Foote, who commanded the squadron on that service. On arriving in England he hoisted the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir T. Biam Martin, and led the fleet through the various manœuvres, exhibited before the Allied Sovereigns when they visited Portsmouth, on the day of the grand naval review at Spithead.

'On intelligence being received,' says the writer in the United Service Journal, 'of Napoleon's escape from Elba, Captain Heywood was ordered to the Mediterranean station, where he was directed to co-operate with the Austrians against Murat. After convoying an expedition from Naples to Genoa and Marseilles, he proceeded to Gibraltar, where the port duties devolved upon him as senior officer. Here his habits of ship-keeping proved very timely; for the report of the Ister having run on shore near Cape de Gata had scarcely arrived, when the Montagu was seen under way, and to the timely assistance he ordered and afforded, was mainly owing the preservation of that fine frigate.

'Whilst at Gibraltar, two Otaheitan youths were brought to him by his friend Capt. Godfrey, of the Arachne. These poor fellows had been kidnapped and ill-treated on board a merchant ship, whence they were rescued; their agitation, and the astonishment they expressed, on being addressed in their

native language, was singularly interesting to every one present, but how much more so to Captain Heywood himself, by thus harrowing up the recollections of those painful vicissitudes of his early life!'

The following extracts, from a letter written at this time, containing Captain Heywood's own description of this scene, and his feelings and reflections on the occasion, cannot but be read with sympathy and admiration.

'*Montagu, Gibraltar, February* 1, 1816.

'An event of rather a singular nature occurred to me two or three days ago, and I confess I have still so much of the *savage* about me as to have been in no small degree interested by it. I heard accidentally, last Sunday, that there were two poor unfortunate Taheiteans on board the Calypso, who had been kidnapped, and brought away from their island by an English ship about thirteen or fourteen months ago. Thence they went to Lima, and in a Spanish ship were conveyed to Cadiz, where soon after their arrival last June, they made their escape, and got on board the Calypso, where they have remained ever since, unable to make themselves understood, and hopeless of ever revisiting their native country, to which they ardently long to go back, and God knows, and so do I, *that* is not to be wondered at. As I thought they would be much more at their ease and comfortable with me, I ordered

them to be discharged into the Montagu, and they were brought on board. Never, as long as I live, shall I forget the emotions of these poor creatures, when, on entering the door of my cabin, I welcomed them in their own way, by exclaiming,

"Mă nōw, wă, Ehō, māa! Yōwră t' Eătōōa, tē hărrĕ ă mye! Welcome, my friends! God save you in coming here!"

'They could scarce believe their ears when I accosted them in a language so dear to them, and which, except by each other, they had not heard pronounced since they were torn from their country. They seemed at the moment electrified. A rush of past recollections at once filled their minds, and then, in a tone and with an expression peculiar to these people, and strikingly mournful, they sighed out together and in unison:

"Attāye, huōy āy! Attāye huōy tō tāwă Vēnōōă, my tyē āy! Ităă rōă ȳe hĕō āy! Alas! Alas! our good country, we shall never see it more!"

I took each by the hand and told them, that if I lived they should be sent home to their country, and assured them, that in the mean time they should remain with me, and that I would be their countryman, their friend and protector. Poor fellows! they were quite overwhelmed—their tears flowed apace—and they wept the thankfulness they could not express. They looked wistfully at me and at each other. God knows what was passing in their minds, but in a short time they grew calm and felt

comforted; and they now feel contented and happy. It was a scene which I would not have lost for much more than I ought to say. But there is no describing the state of one's mind in witnessing the sensibilities of another fellow-being, with a *conviction*, at the same time, that they are *true* and *unaffected*. And, *good God!* with what ease *that* is discovered. What an amazing difference there is between these children of nature and the pupils of art and refinement! It was a scene worthy of being described by a better pen—a sincere expression of Nature's genuine, best feelings, such as we sometimes read of in many of our *pretty novels;* but rarely, very rarely see, in this civilized hemisphere of ours, and which, indeed, I do believe *I* very seldom have seen wholly unsophisticated by some selfish passion, which interest mixes with them, but polish teaches to conceal, except among the poor untaught *savages* of the island which gave these men birth—where plenty and content are the portion of all, unalloyed by care, envy, or ambition —where labour is needless and want unknown. At least, such it was twenty-five years ago. And after all that is said and done among us great and wise people of the earth, pray what do we all toil for, late take rest, and eat the bread of carefulness, but to reach, at last, the very state to which they are born—ease of circumstances, and the option of being idle or busy as we please? But if I go on this way

you will say I am a *savage*, and so I believe I am, and ever shall be in *some* points; but let that pass.

'As these poor fellows appear to be very wretched in a state of existence so new to them, so foreign to their original manners and habits, and as their ignorance utterly disqualifies them for enjoying what they cannot comprehend the value of, and renders them useless members of a state of civilization and refinement such as ours, I have written a public letter to Mr. Croker, and a private one to Admiral Hope, to beg they may be sent out to their own country, should the newspaper reports be true, that our government intends to send a vessel to Pitcairn's island with articles of comfort and convenience for the new-discovered progeny of the Bounty's people. This discovery naturally interested me much when I first heard of it in 1809, at the Admiralty; but still more has the information given us since by Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon* interested me. A very lively and general curiosity seems to have been excited to know more about a race of beings so new and uncommon in the composition of their character, and not the less so from its purity. And even my curiosity (gratified as it has been already by seeing man in every stage of so-

* The information given by these gentlemen is to be found, with many very interesting particulars, in the account of Pitcairn's Island, subjoined to the "History of the Meeting of the Bounty." The reader, who is not already acquainted with this account, cannot fail to be highly gratified by its perusal.

ciety, from the miserable savage of New Holland to the most cultivated and refined European) has been awakened by the accounts of these officers; so that, were I on the spot, and any thing were going out that way, it is not at all clear to me but that I should be tempted to endeavour to go and look at this new species, as well as to judge whether the natives of Taheite have, upon the whole, been benefited, or the reverse, by their intercourse with Europe for the last twenty-five years. I know what they were then, and I believe there are few persons, if any, now living, who possess the same means of judging of the change that may have taken place, because all those who saw them about that time were but casual visitors; and if I may be allowed to judge from what has been written, these visitors *knew* just as much about the people as they did of their language; and a man must have a strangely-constructed head who can believe that any thing which it is most interesting to know concerning a strange people, can *possibly be known* (correctly at least) without the latter. Yet we meet with many descriptions of their manners, customs, religion, and ceremonies, of their government and policy, (if they have any,) that must have been comprehended. How? Why, by the eye alone. Now is this possible? No: and I can only say, that more than two years and a half's residence among them, and a very competent knowledge of their language, never enabled me to discover the truth of *nearly* all the descriptions of those

matters before the public, most of which I, at this moment, believe never to have had existence except in the heads of the writers! But, fortunately for those who feed curiosity with a goose-quill, there is no lack of credulity in Great Britain, whatever there may be of faith. To us, however, it is very immaterial what stories we are told about them; and to know more or less of these *savages*, will neither add to nor lessen our stock of *happiness*. Happiness indeed does not seem to be our chief object of search, so much as wealth, distinctions, and power, where alone we most of us suppose it to reside, notwithstanding half a thousand old fellows, from Solomon down to Dr. Cogan, have been telling us we are all wrong. But these Islanders have neither power nor gold to make it; but plenty, cheerfulness, and content they have, and with nature only for their guide, they are so *deplorably ignorant* as to fancy, that these, with a few social enjoyments, constitute the summum bonum of life. Upon the whole, there is more general happiness among them, than among any people I have met with on earth; so that I am very sure, the less we teach them of our *arts* and sciences, the better for themselves. Let them, however, have our religion; for though they have a firm belief in the Supreme Being, of the soul's separate existence, and of a future state after death, still more happy than the present, yet it may be for their benefit hereafter to have a knowledge of Christianity, though I am not at all sure it will make them happier during life, or

add to the composure with which I have *seen* several of them, both old and young, depart out of it. In most matters, indeed, they act up to its tenets already, without knowing any thing about it. But those customs among them, which are in direct opposition to its holy precepts, as well as to their own happiness here, (most of which, however strange it may seem to the ear of an European, originate in *pride of family*,) particularly infanticide, it would doubtless correct, and in time explode. But of this matter I have said more than enough, perhaps, and more than I intended."*

* In connexion with this subject the Editor cannot forbear calling the attention of the reader to a very remarkable passage in the History of the Mutiny of the Bounty. After a description of Otaheite and its inhabitants, the writer adds,

'Such was the state of this beautiful island and its interesting and fascinating natives at the time when Captain Wallis first discovered and Lieutenant Cook shortly afterwards visited it. What they now are, as described by Captain Beechey, it is lamentable to reflect. All their usual and innocent amusements have been denounced by the missionaries, and, in lieu of them, these poor people have been driven to seek for resources in habits of indolence and apathy: that simplicity of character, which atoned for many of their faults, has been converted into cunning and hypocrisy; and drunkenness, poverty, and disease have thinned the island of its former population to a frightful degree. By a survey of the first missionaries, and a census of the inhabitants, taken in 1797, the population was estimated at 16,050 souls; Captain Waldegrave, in 1830, states it, on the authority of a census also taken by the missionaries, to amount only to 5000—and there is but too much reason to ascribe this diminution to praying, psalm-singing, and dram-drinking.

'The island of Otaheite is in shape two circles united by a low and narrow isthmus. The larger circle is named Otaheite Mooé, and is about thirty miles in diameter; the lesser, named Tiaraboo, about ten miles in diameter. A belt of low land, terminating in numerous valleys, ascending by gentle slopes to the central mountain, which is

Captain Heywood was distinguished from his brother officers by entertaining different, and, as they were perhaps thought, singular opinions, on

about seven thousand feet high, surrounds the larger circle, and the same is the case with the smaller circle on a proportionate scale. Down these valleys flow streams and rivulets of clear water, and the most luxuriant and verdant foliage fills their sides and the hilly ridges that separate them, among which were once scattered the smiling cottages and little plantations of the natives. All these are now destroyed, and the remnant of the population has crept down to the flats and swampy ground on the sea-shore, completely subservient to the seven establishments of missionaries, who have taken from them what little trade they used to carry on, to possess themselves of it; who have their warehouses, act as agents, and monopolize all the cattle on the island—but, in return, they have given them a new religion and a *parliament (risum teneatis?)* and reduced them to a state of complete pauperism—and all, as they say, and probably have so persuaded themselves, for the honour of God, and the salvation of their souls! How much is such a change, brought about by such conduct, to be deprecated! How lamentable is it to reflect, that an island on which Nature has lavished so many of her bounteous gifts, with which neither Cyprus nor Cythēra, nor the fanciful island of Calypso, can compete in splendid and luxuriant beauties, should be doomed to such a fate—in an enlightened age, and by a people that call themselves civilized!'—Pp. 37—39.

How much does this extract contain for serious and even painful reflection! Are these the effects of the introduction of a religion which makes 'peace on earth and good-will to man—the glory of of God'? It should be observed, however, that there is a little stronger colouring given to the picture in this account than it appears to wear in the original; or, at least, that in Captain Beechey's Narrative there are observations calculated to modify the strong feelings of regret and indignation which this statement excites. The reader, who is not already acquainted with it, will do well to consult Captain Beechey's very interesting Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific in the years 1825-28. The account of Pitcairn's island, the picture of Adams, the information on missionary settlements and their influence, given by that author, abound in matter for delightful and improving contemplation.

Is there not a mistaken benevolence extensively pervading society, which, indulging grand but vague expectations, delights in searching

many important and interesting points. Amongst others, was the more favourable estimate which he had formed of the talents and character of the American naval officers; and he appears at this time to have given a little umbrage to some of his friends by the expression of this estimate, or at least to have been called upon vigorously to defend his opinion. The former part of the letter, which contains the foregoing extract, is chiefly taken up with this topic.

'*Montagu, February* 1*st*, 1816.

'My dear B——

'I avail myself of the Partridge, now at single anchor, all ready for a start the moment the wind serves, to thank you for your long and kind letter of the 13th November, brought over by the Tagus. I am glad I happened to anticipate your wish to know something of the Yankees. However you may agree with me, my friend ** *, to whom I wrote an account of them in similar terms, has *rated* me, not a little, for giving what he calls "unqualified praise to those Yankee doodles!" That I gave credit to the Yankees we had here, as far as they appeared to me to *deserve* it, is true; but that I conceded to them unqualified praise, I deny; and if what I did give, happened to be at the expense of my own countrymen, (as he seemed to

out distant and unknown spheres of operation, embarrassed by all the difficulties of imperfect, often false, information and ignorance of the true nature of the evil to be removed?

think,) the fault is theirs, not mine. I am one of those who do not consider true worth to be the growth of one particular soil alone. But it may be the production of any, and wherever I see, I feel myself bound to acknowledge it, even in an enemy. When the evidence of the senses convinces the understanding in opposition to unfavourable report, the liberal-minded man will not allow his judgment to be obscured by national partiality. Nor will he be so unjust as to withhold from the deserving man his meed of praise, whether he be a countryman, a friend, or a foe. If we really discover among these Americans any of that ability and those qualities which we admire, and upon which we pride ourselves so much, are we, merely because they were born in America, to suffer narrow-minded prejudice to blind our reason? No, surely not! Be assured this is unwise, it is unmanly; nay, it is mean, it is despicable. But farther still than this. If we find some American officers, whom, by the bye, I do not class with their fellow-countrymen on shore of whom I know but little, to have given particular attention to some professional studies to which many, nay most of us, have perhaps paid no attention at all, are we to deny them merit as far as that goes, on the ground of deficiency in ourselves? I must honestly confess, that I cannot do this, and, with much humility too, that, as an individual, on comparing myself with one or two with whom I conversed here, I found, I am sorry to say, that I was rather light in the balance, that is,

wanting in a knowledge of some particular matters closely connected with our profession, which we all ought to know, but I do *not;* and of which I have some reason to believe, that too many of my brother officers are equally ignorant. Yet these men were modest and unassuming, and most of them had candour enough to acknowledge their general inferiority to British naval officers; assuring me, that they were only desirous of emulating them. Far from giving them credit for general excellence, I see they are at present very inferior to us upon the whole; and to me it is evident, that those among them who can think dispassionately, think so too: so that they have in their composition the best possible ingredient to make themselves better; for nothing is so inimical to improvement, as that pride which presumes on supposed superiority and merit, or that haughtiness which indicates unqualified contempt of others. It has always appeared to me, that our high naval reputation has arisen from successes over the French and Spaniards, whom we ourselves, as well as the nation at large, have always looked on as despicable opponents in naval warfare. But it behoves us not to class the Americans with foes like these.

I have not heard from Lord Exmouth since the 20th December. He was then at Leghorn, without orders about the fleet, and about to visit Rome, &c. We are afraid it is intended to keep us all here till the guardships are manned, as we

hear our rulers at the Cross have made John Bull growl a bit, by turning so many of our Jacks adrift all at once. The fact is, John Bull has had his worth of good out of us, and he cares not now what becomes of Jack, provided he does not go over to the Yankees, or takes to cruizing among his pigs and poultry, to save himself from starving. As to the extreme reluctance of men to enter the navy, the causes must be too self-evident to us who have been among them for so many years to need mentioning here. With respect to the navy, there is an evident want at present of national gratitude and proper feeling. However, when fear brings our good countrymen to their right senses, they always know, because they feel, our value. If ever again the country's enemies become respectable by sea, what has been ever, will be again; we shall stand upon the vantage ground, and the navy will meet with that consideration from the sovereign, as well as the country, which appears now to have been transferred to the other class of its defenders. It will not then be necessary for officers of the highest rank in our service, to stoop to *beg* to be put on a footing of *equality* with the army! There has been, I see by the papers, such a petition. This is a crying shame somewhere, and it is not for us to apply for a remedy. It ought to be anticipated and applied, if justice requires that it should; and as I take it for granted *that* will be (or ought to be) impartially dealt, in such a constitution as ours, by the

King to his servants, I would not be one, as an *officer*, to petition for that which all his subjects are entitled to expect at the hand of Majesty, whose eye, we are to presume, is over us all alike; and, as a man, I would not forfeit my own esteem by becoming a beggar, unless driven to it by the force of necessity and absolute want."

The following description of Captain Heywood's situation at the date of this letter, will be read with interest by those who remember him.

"As Parliament meets to-morrow or next day, I trust we shall hear, in a packet or two, whether we are to remain here at this rock for ever. I am sorry to say that we are beginning to feel the sad effects of lying now nineteen weeks in a state of inactivity, disappointed hope and expectation—no small evils in this life. It is ten times worse than the whole war service put together. Within the last fortnight I have sent to the hospital about fifty men, and have buried three. Unless there exist some most urgent necessity, it would be humanity to remove us all from this country, for the fellows in these ships have so set their hearts on being paid off, that from the present state of their minds they are ill fitted to begin a new war if there should be one, and so indeed must every one who has been compelled thus to live so long cut off from every thing that man ought to hold dear in life. However, we never have any grumbling on

board old Montagu. We all know our duty, and will not flinch from it. Still it would be satisfactory, to have some time to *look* to—as no state is so painful as suspense, or at least some reason given to us for thus delaying our return home. In the mean time, whatever may happen to us here, may you be happy at home, and believe me,

'Most sincerely yours,

'P. H.'

Similar remarks on the American naval character were written about the same time by Captain Heywood, in his own defence, to a friend who was less disposed to coincide with them; and they were thus introduced:

'And so, my good, worthy old messmate, you would have given me a "broadside," for having bestowed what you call unqualified praise on those Yankees, at the expense of my "own countrymen." However, if you had, you would have found me prepared (as I trust I always shall be) to defend myself against attack; but with what success I presume not to say. I very seldom think it worth my while to explain to the indifferent the motives I act on, or my reasons for opinions which I may give, and which, believe me, I adopt not lightly on trust, but, to the best of my judgment, from observation and conviction. Yet to those I value and esteem,

I am always willing and ready to open my mind without reserve. * *

'It behoves us not to hold the Americans too cheap in our estimation. We must either excel them or they will excel us; for they have humility enough to confess they are not equal to us yet, in naval skill and ability; but they appear to me to have the emulation to become so.

'And so far are they advanced in professional science and practical seamanship, as well as in the essential qualifications of officers, that I am inclined to consider these Americans the only naval people, in the present day, over whom a successful action, on equal terms, can justly confer any credit on a British opponent.'

In allusion to the report which had reached him of the multitudes of his countrymen who flocked to Plymouth, from curiosity, to see the fallen Emperor Napoleon, then on board an English vessel awaiting his destiny, thus paying him an honour gratifying to his vanity, he says, 'Why the public is a sort of nondescript, an anomaly in nature. It cannot discriminate between good and evil—between the career of honour towards the goal of fame and real glory, or infamy.'

We may infer, perhaps, from this, that the opinion Captain Heywood had formed thus early of the character of Napoleon, was similar to that developed by Dr. Channing, in his 'Remarks on the Life and Character of Napoleon Buonaparte,' and in his

'Thoughts on True Greatness,' productions, published many years afterwards, with which Captain H. entirely coincided in sentiment.

Captain Heywood and his crew were soon released from the station which appears to have become so irksome to them. In the same month in which his letter was dated, he accompanied Lord Exmouth in that gratifying mission along the Barbary shores, which produced the release of nearly two thousand Christian slaves. The following characteristic anecdote is given of him by the author of the Notice in the United States Journal: 'At Tripoli, another instance of his watchfulness occurred; a heavy N. W. wind coming on while the Admiral and most of his captains were on shore, the whole squadron began to drive, and some of them heeled over prodigiously. We ran to the top of the Consul's house, which overlooks the roads, where Lord Exmouth and Sir J. Brisbane soon made their appearance also. "My Lord," we said, "the Montagu is under sail." "Oh! as for Heywood," he replied, "no fear of him; (*he is sure to be in his place); what are the others doing?"

'On our return from the Mediterranean,' continues Captain Heywood, 'the Montagu was paid off at Chatham, on the 16th of July, 1816; and I came ashore, after having been actively employed at sea twenty-seven years, six months, one week, and

* As added by a friend.

five days, out of a servitude in the navy of twenty-nine years, seven months, and one day.'

The following lines, written by one of the Montagu's crew, were sent to Captain Heywood, by desire of the whole ship's company. They express the sentiments of affectionate respect, which were universally entertained towards him by his men, and by his contemporaries in the service, and they cannot, in justice to the subject, be excluded from this volume. Sent to him at a moment when his ship's company were about to be freed from the restraints of naval discipline, they cannot indicate a design to seek his favour by undue adulation. 'He was perfectly adored,' was the emphatic expression of one of his shipmates respecting him to the writer of this memoir. In the Naval Biography they are thus introduced: 'We have had occasion to notice the presentation of numerous swords, snuff-boxes, rings, &c., but we have never yet met with an instance of a naval commander receiving a tribute of respect and esteem from his crew, better calculated to gratify a benevolent and humane mind, than "The Seaman's Farewell to H. M. S. Montagu," when put out of commission at Chatham, on the 16th of July, 1816.'

Farewell to thee, MONTAGU! yet ere we quit thee
We'll give thee the blessing, so justly thy due;
For many a seaman will fondly regret thee,
And wish to rejoin thee, thou 'Gem of True Blue.'

For stout were thy timbers, and stoutly commanded,
In the record of glory untarnished thy name;
Still ready for battle when glory demanded,
And ready to conquer or die in thy fame.

Farewell to thee, Heywood! a truer one never
Exercised rule o'er the sons of the wave;
The seamen who served thee, would serve *thee* for ever,
Who sway'd, but ne'er fetter'd, the hearts of the brave.

Haste home to thy rest, and may comforts enshrine it,
Such comforts as shadow the peace of the bless'd;
And the wreath thou deserv'st, may gratitude twine it,
The band of true seamen thou ne'er hast oppress'd.

Farewell to ye, Shipmates, now home is our haven,
May our hardships all fade as a dream that is past;
And be this true toast to old Montagu giv'n,
She was our *best* ship, and she was the last.

The wish, not inelegantly expressed in the fourth of these verses, and certainly appropriate to his character and tastes, was not breathed in vain. He had now fulfilled the resolution so solemnly declared to Captain Montagu, when the King's pardon was extended to him, that he would devote his life to the service of his Sovereign; and as his country no longer required the active exertions of the profession, he retired from public life. His mind was from the first evidently formed to gather the choicest fruits of domestic privacy and leisure, and to cultivate, in comparative seclusion and peace, intellectual and literary tastes. Hitherto he had allowed nothing to interfere with that high sense of duty to his country, which was always present to his mind;

and, perhaps, from the feeling that his profession was incompatible with that attention to the obligations of domestic ties which alone could satisfy him in their enjoyment, he deferred until this time his union with a lady, to whom he had long been attached.

CHAPTER V.

On the 31st of July, 1816, Captain Heywood married Frances, the only daughter of Francis Simpson, Esq., of Plean-House, Stirlingshire, and the writer may be permitted to say, that in this lady Captain Heywood found a companion who could sympathize cordially in his mental and moral tastes. Mrs. Heywood well appreciated the treasure of which she became possessed, and valued, as they deserved, the manly independence, the unaffected goodness, the pure and simple manners, which were the distinguishing charm of her husband's character; it formed her chief happiness to share in his enjoyments while he lived, and it is her chief consolation to reflect that she soothed, with every faithful and sedulous attention, the sufferings of his latest hours. Possessed, then, of all that his heart desired—with a moderate competency, which, to his chastened wishes and simple habits, was affluence; self-justified in the recollection of the past, if not adorned with the honours which he carried with him, (yet what greater honour could such a mind desire than the grateful and affectionate regards of his fellow-

beings?) he withdrew into the bosom of domestic retirement. For many years he lived at Highgate, enjoying, in elegant hospitality, the visits of his select friends, purifying by his refined taste, and elevating by his intellectual pursuits, the society of that home, over which his mind threw a charm like the mild light of a descending sun upon a landscape, after the storm and the cloud have passed away.

Captain Heywood had no family, but his home had an additional ornament in a daughter of Mrs. Heywood's, for whom he felt parental attachment, and who reflected, with every feminine grace and accomplishment, the purity and amiableness of her father-in-law's character. This lady is now united to Lieut. Belcher, R. N., who, as Commander of the Ætna, is at present surveying the coast of Africa.

The feelings which animated him at this season are, however, best known, as they are beautifully exhibited in a letter to Lord Melville, written on declining the honour of a Commodore's Broad Pendant,—a letter which the reader will doubtless appreciate as highly as it deserves.

'On the 18th of May, 1818, Lord Melville, without any solicitation of mine, or that of any of my friends, that I am aware of,' says Captain Heywood, in a brief summary of his career, 'made me the offer of the command on the Lakes of Canada, with a Commodore's Broad Pendant. He was so good as to allow me to accept or refuse it, as well

as a week to consider it. I had, however, no hesitation in writing him the following letter the next day:

'My Lord,

I hope your Lordship will give me credit for feeling, as I sincerely do, highly honoured by the offer which you were pleased to make to me; truly grateful for a mark of estimation so far above my deserving, and no less thankful for the permission conceded to me to accept or decline it.

'In deciding on a question of this kind, it behoves an officer, in the first place, to divest his mind of every private inducement that can possibly influence his judgment. I have endeavoured to do so, though, I must confess, under difficulties arising from domestic circumstances, which could not have presented themselves to a *bachelor*. Were the country at war, there could be no option left. Duty would point to immediate acceptance; but a state of peace may, perhaps, be allowed to render the duty somewhat less imperative, and to sanction a different resolve. It was ever my determination to serve, if able, *during war*, when and wherever the authorities of my country should require me; a determination that nothing but inability will ever alter. At the same time, he who would never lend a deaf ear to his country's call, nor evade demanded service in time of war, cannot, perhaps, be justly blamed for withstanding those *allurements* which

tempt so many to seek employment in the service, even in profound peace, nor be censured for desiring to enjoy, with humility and content, the fruits of many former years of professional anxiety and fatigue.

'Professing myself to be one of these, and as it has pleased God, through the means of many friends, and more especially yourself, my Lord, to enable me to realize a small competency, fully equal to my limited desires, far beyond my most sanguine expectations, and infinitely beyond my deserving; and being now also in possession of *every thing which I hold of most intrinsic value* in this life, I candidly confess that I feel little disposed to quit these things, even for a short time, except to contribute the little measure in my power to the defence of my country in time of war, or under a conviction, that my humble professional endeavours may possibly be more useful to her in some particular case and time than those of another. This, in the present instance, is, of course, entirely out of the question.

'The distinction, attached to the command which your Lordship has done me the honour to deem me worthy to hold, would be no inducement to me to accept it at this time of peace; and the salary* still less. Both these, however, would, no doubt, have due weight with many officers, whose talents and

* About £1200 per annum.

qualifications for such a command, I am very sure greatly surpass mine, though, in point of zeal, I trust I may be allowed to say that I feel no inferiority to any.

'Having no private views to promote by serving during peace, and being entirely deaf to the suggestions of vanity, or the desire of distinctions, (of rank and command I mean,) merely for their own sakes, I would therefore willingly hope, if the service will admit of it, that your Lordship will be pleased to permit me to decline the honour of this command, in favour of some one of the numerous, meritorious and distinguished officers, to whom those distinctions are objects of high ambition and regard, if not of envy, and who, I have no doubt, will be more fully competent to the discharge of its various duties, with superior benefit to the public service.

'I trust further, my Lord, that my thus, most respectfully, soliciting to be permitted to decline an offer which I consider so highly honourable to me, and for which I shall feel most grateful as long as I live, will not be imputed to dereliction of my duty, but, on the contrary, to motives founded on right principles, and fully justified by the circumstances. Under this hope and trust, I beg leave to subscribe myself, with every feeling of respect, duty, and gratitude,

'My Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obliged humble servant,

'PETER HEYWOOD.'

'I had an interview with Lord Melville a day or two after he received the above,' says the writer in a note following the letter, 'and was happy to find that my determination met his entire concurrence and unqualified approbation.

'P. H.'

This excellent man continued long to enjoy the fruits of this resolution. His house was the resort of friends, who looked up to him with respect, and of young aspirants in the profession, who came to profit by his experience and advice. Observation, reading, and reflection, contributed to enrich the mind, which early adversity had strengthened. Captain Heywood was active also with his pen: he kept up an extensive correspondence, and published, in the periodicals and journals of the day, various papers chiefly on subjects relating to his profession, and the sciences connected with it. He seldom read without recording the observations which occurred to him as of most importance in the course of his inquiries, and failed not to comment on the errors into which the author before him had fallen. It is a subject of deep regret, that no considerable results of this activity, at a season when his mind and opinions were matured, can be laid before the reader. Captain Heywood shrunk, with virgin delicacy, from observation and notoriety, and never obtruded his own proceedings or pursuits on public attention. His authorship of the papers

which he published, was probably known only to those habitual companions who were admitted most closely to his confidence, and not always even to them.

The sentiments of the following letter, particularly in relation to the priesthood, were such as the author of this sketch often heard him express, and it is the only letter, written at this period, which has fallen into his hands:

'It is near a month, my dear * *, since I last wrote to you, on the receipt of your letter, dated 6th of May, at Corfu, and I was just thinking of writing to you now when that of July 1st, off Egina, came to hand. It has come quickly, but as it has been subjected to the prying system of espionage, so generally established by the continental governments, opened and resealed, I deem it necessary to let you know it, that you may be on your guard as to what you write. Your excursion to the summit of Mount Etna must have been highly interesting to you, and would, of course, have been still more agreeable could your ladies have accompanied you. I take it for granted that neither you nor they could have been much gratified by your visit to Corfú, except as regards the novelty and beauty of the surrounding country. I confess, *that* pleased me much, when I was there in the year 1815; but I was too much occupied to make any use of my pencil, as I am happy to find your dear girl has done. I have, however, been so

fortunate as to obtain a few of the sketches made by poor Cartwright during his long residence there, as well as a few of his pictures, when they were sold by auction at Philips's.

'As to the people there, I formed, from the little I saw of them, a most unfavourable opinion, which poor Cartwright corroborated, and Mr. D. ., from whom I heard the other day, has fully confirmed. And I take it for granted, that the rest of the Greeks are all of much the same stamp as to their general character. Indeed, from all I have seen and heard, and been able to judge from their acts, during their struggle for that independence and freedom which they are as yet unqualified, by sloth and ignorance, either to understand or to enjoy, they truly are what D . . . describes them to be, "a treacherous, dastardly race to friend and foe, scarcely possessing one of the virtues for which credit has been mistakenly given them by self-interested writers of travels, and some superficial observers." They seem to be deplorably deficient in candour, truth, and that feeling of moral obligation so necessary to bind man to man, and it would appear that momentary gratifications, and temporary advantages over each other in their dealings, constitute the essence of their ambition. A government in the hands of such men can be little relied on, nor can it be expected to be durable and efficient. A sudden but evanescent lustre has now and then been thrown on the character of this people by excitement of the moment, and

the example of a few superior spirits; but I fear it will not be very durable. For there can scarcely be a true patriotic feeling in the breasts of any of their leaders; and as to the Count* at their head, your opinion of him is no doubt quite correct. I have always thought him, and events but tend to shew him, to be a self-interested agent in the hands of the Russian autocrat. *His* object is evidently Russian aggrandizement, more than Greek freedom; and in all probability, whatever obstacles may be thrown by the Allied Powers, through their ministers at Constantinople, in the way of pacific negociation between the Turks and Russians, or even the former and the Greeks, they will chiefly originate in him, although the freedom and welfare of Greece will be always in his mouth, and be prominently set forth in all his public documents. The Count well knows, as every man of common sense must know, that the Greeks, as a people, are quite as unfit for a free constitution and the enjoyment of freedom, as the Turks themselves, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, or any other people, whose minds are enslaved and debased by bigotry and superstition. The greatest bar to their progress in knowledge is the want of that *moral* light which can alone be afforded by Christianity *practically* and *rightly understood*, and the existence of an avaricious, selfish, lazy, and over-numerous priesthood,

* Capo d'Istrias?

whose exactions keep the people in the most deplorable poverty and ignorance, whence alone they derive their power and influence, and on which the existence of such a body alone depends. Not even Popery can be worse than the Greek Church for the mind's enslavement, and yet have our sage rulers, in the abundance of their wisdom and philanthropy, in this 19th century, encouraged it as good, and lent a helping hand to the durability of its abominations. No country can keep so large a portion of its population in idleness, as these baneful systems of superstition and fanaticism render necessary, *and prosper*. One's blood boils at the hypocrisy of the priesthood of both these churches, as they are called, whose language is that of charity and good-will to all men, whilst, at the same time, their whole conduct tends to oppress and debase the minds of their deluded victims. I am still, my dear * *, have been, and ever shall be, averse to the granting of temporal power to any *clergy* whatsoever, and would resist all *spiritual* power, if evidently applied to base and pernicious purposes. The sacred duties of a truly Christian priest, if conscientiously performed, are more than sufficient to occupy his time; and in those countries where they are least permitted to interfere in secular matters, we find the most faithful and conscientious clergy, and in general the most moral and properly religious people. We have too many instances in our own country of that inordinate

thirst for power, wealth, and distinction, in the priesthood of even the Protestant Established Church, and of their making it the stepping-stone to self-aggrandisement, and seldom have we found even them exerting their power and influence to advance the real knowledge, and promote the good, of the people.

'We have hardly yet had time to judge how far our late grand Emancipation act works for the good of poor Ireland, but for this I must refer you to the papers of the day. I sincerely wish that all the benefits contemplated by its advocates may result. For myself, I have always been desirous of not prolonging, by any act or countenance of mine, the existence of what it is most desirable *should die as early a natural death* as may please the God of truth; and never, on the ground of any temporal expediency of any sort, hypocritically to *hold a candle to the Devil*, or to any of his messmates. I am no enemy to the temporal interests and welfare of the Papists, but I morally and mortally detest their system. I also wish quite as well to the Greeks and their cause, but I have my doubts of the stability of any government or edifice which such a people can raise for the establishment of their independence and rational freedom. I sincerely wish the Powers allied in their favour may finally succeed in their endeavours at Constantinople to bring about peace between the Turks and Russians, and to free the Greeks from the yoke of the former. For

it was never intended by the Almighty that man should oppress his fellow, and therefore I trust that they may at least be allowed to make the experiment of trying to govern themselves. But will they succeed? Only look at the Spanish Americas, and say on what part of the Greek character is rational hope to be founded. The Creole Spaniards and the Greeks have each the most fertile and beautiful countries under heaven, where every thing may be produced, but where the seeds of true patriotism seem to be extinct. Long ere this can reach you, you will, of course, have been enabled to judge on the spot, of the probable result of the negociations now said to be going on at Constantinople, which, as far as I can see from the papers here, the generality of people are disposed to think will finally settle the Russian and Turkish war, and the independence of Greece; but I confess I see little ground for being so sanguine in my expectations of the result, and *yet* I hope I may be wrong, for the sake of humanity.' * *

After some observations on the characters engaged in these negociations, and their probable success, the writer continues—'Should your Admiral, on the contrary, be reduced to the necessity of having recourse to the more forcible arguments of his proper profession, surrounded as he is by such distinguished supporters, I have the fullest confidence as to the result, and that when you return, crowned with the laurels of victory, you will all be rewarded

with ribbons, and other pretty things, and Sir with a peerage and the smiles of a king, and be the envy of all the world, except a few rusty old philosophers like me, and many wiser men who care for *none* of these things. Now, my dear ...., I think your eyes will have been fatigued with deciphering all this, and therefore I will have pity on you, and, desiring our kindest remembrances and best wishes to you all, believe me ever, with great truth,

'Faithfully yours,

'P. H.

'23, *Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, Aug.* 1, 1829.'

Although Captain Heywood's correspondence, of which the above is a slight example, was thus active, and his attention always awake to the proceedings of the political and scientific world, the energies of his pen were chiefly exerted for his private use. Several volumes of MS., containing memoranda on the subjects of his inquiries, in which theology held a conspicuous place, were destroyed by him a short time before his death. He feared that observations might go forth as his, which, on maturer consideration, he should be inclined to disavow or modify; and which, indeed, were never intended for the public eye. His valued partner would, for her own sake, have gladly rescued some of these precious relics from destruction; but in answer to all entreaties to spare them, he would reply, that hereafter some well-meant affection for

his memory might possibly induce a violation of that privacy which it had been his happiness to preserve. "Pure in the last recesses of his mind," he shrunk with sensitive delicacy from publicity and display. His modesty would have kept watch, like a guardian spirit, even over his tomb, to prevent the accents of human adulation from breaking the stillness of his last repose. If any consideration could reconcile his departed spirit to the appearance of this volume, it would only be some possible contribution to the spread of virtue and honour amongst mankind—'of truth, candour, and justice,' which, at the conclusion of a letter to one who had allowed his mind to be poisoned by unfounded suspicion and evil report, he calmly says, 'are the rules and principles of my conduct.'*

It is evident from the letters of Captain Heywood, which have been given, and from the whole tenour of his conduct, that he was a truly religious man. A grateful and adoring sense of the perfections and government of the one living and true God pervaded his mind, and his piety was connected with an invincible integrity and moral purity, which the world had no power to wound or stain. Can such an union of gentleness and firmness, of disinterested-

* "Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui etiam sæpe boni indulgent, ostentandâ virtute, aut per artem quæsivit: procul ab æmulatione adversùs collegas, procul a contentione adversùs procuratores: et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur."—*Taciti Agricola.*

ness and modesty, as was found in him, have any other foundation than religion?

On board ship he always acted as his own chaplain, and he was accustomed every Sabbath-day to assemble the ship's company, and read to them portions of the Church service and of Blair's Sermons. He admired these sermons for their practical character, and a copy of them was always in his cabin for the use of his midshipmen, to whom he recommended their perusal. To the latest period of his life he was fond of the study of the Bible, to which he devoted himself critically, and he would shut himself up in a room for a long time, particularly on Sunday, to pursue this occupation. On these occasions he secluded himself even from his family, upon the principle, that religion is an affair between every man's conscience and his God; and he rather exhorted his dearest associates in life to pursue a similar plan of studying the Bible for themselves, than endeavoured to influence their speculative belief.

It will be interesting to the reader to know that, with these habits and views, he was in religious sentiment strictly a Unitarian. Though he rarely made religion the topic of his conversation, because, perhaps, he met with few who sympathized in his feelings on that most interesting and important of all subjects; and though he had a great objection to personal controversy and discussion, knowing how soon the cloud and storm of the temper inter-

vene to darken the mild light of the understanding, he never concealed his sentiments, nor hesitated, on proper occasions, to avow them. It is worthy of more serious observation that his views were Unitarian, because they were the result of his own reading and reflection, under circumstances in which no sectarian or party feeling, no ties of worldly interest or family connexion, nor any of the ordinary influences of social life could operate to check the free exercises of his mind. In the retirement of his cabin, in the solitude of the ocean, in the silence of night he read and thought. Early and sad experience of life had given to all his reflections a serious cast; and while it lessened his taste for the ordinary pleasures of the world, it contributed so to elevate and purify his mind as to enable him to view all objects through a clear atmosphere, and to look down upon 'all the kingdoms of the world,' and judge of the true 'glory of them.' It was thus, and in this tone, that he adopted those views of scriptural truth which, however commonly denounced by the leaders of public opinion, have seemed just to some of the wisest and best of the human race, and which in our own country have been endeared to many by the approbation of a Locke, a Lardner, a Milton, a Newcome, and a Law.

Of Unitarians, as a sect, Captain Heywood knew little or nothing. But in the latter part of his life, as his religious views became known to some of his friends, he was led to attend the chapel in York

Street, St. James's Square; and entirely approving the service, he became a regular attendant, as far as his health would permit, on public Unitarian worship in that place. This continued for about two years, and was the origin of an intercourse between the subject and author of this memoir, most highly valued by the latter, who little knew the deep interest attached to Captain Heywood's character and history, until he became a witness of the sufferings which preceded his removal from this scene. Such was the independence of Captain Heywood's mind, that he shrunk to the last from connecting himself closely with the Unitarians as a body, dreading lest it should bring with it any compromise of his own principles, and hating the very name of sect or party. Yet in private society he approved the views, he sympathized in the feelings of the elder Unitarian Dissenters, whom he occasionally met; and he entertained a sincere respect for their characters. That he was a Unitarian, was to many of his friends a subject of surprise, and perhaps of pain, but not many could estimate the solidity of that knowledge upon which his convictions were based, or the care of that inquiry by which his pure and simple structure of faith had been raised.

Captain Heywood often mentioned that the first works which he met with, containing just views, as they appeared to him, on the subject of religion and human duty, were those of Dr. Cogan. The theological disquisitions of this author, on the Jewish

dispensation, the paternal character of God, the peculiar blessings and characteristic evidences of Christianity, and his Ethical Questions, abound in valuable reflections, which harmonized with the rational mind and the benevolent feelings of this excellent man. He found in most of the popular works upon religion much which he could not approve, and which appeared fallacious and pernicious. Captain Heywood attributed so much beneficial influence to the works of this author, that he distributed many copies amongst his private friends.

He was indebted to a clergyman of the Church of England for his first acquaintance with another author—Dr. Channing, of America—of whose writings he became a devoted reader and ardent admirer. He was accustomed to speak with the greatest delight of the pleasure he experienced in the enlarged views, the exalted piety, the animating conceptions of human dignity and duty, which pervade the eloquent writings of this popular American divine. The literature of America in general suited his taste. It is true, he knew it chiefly from its most favourable specimens, but in these he perceived good sense prevailing, a disposition to bring every opinion to the test of truth, without that party spirit which mingles so largely in the current literature of our own country, and tinges our popular reviews with so much unfairness and misrepresen-

tation.* Nor was he slow to do justice to the merit of many English Unitarian writers. He read with great satisfaction that important and convincing work, the Vindication of Unitarianism, in reply to Dr. Wardlaw, by the Rev. James Yates.

But his religion was more practical than speculative. It was impossible to converse with him without feeling that, although the language of religion was not upon his lips, its spirit was in his heart. If he could not accord with the majority of professing Christians, and with the creeds and articles of the Established Church, in his religious belief, and if he saw much to disapprove in the institutions of his country for the instruction and discipline of its youth, he reserved the fulness of his indignation for those violations of truth, justice, integrity, and candour, which fell under his notice in the characters of the selfish, the weak, and the worldly around him. The place-hunter, the time-server, those who seek for office at the expense of honour and truth, whose

* "I have the *utmost aversion* to the whole business of reviewing, which I have long considered, in the manner in which it is conducted, a nefarious and unprincipled proceeding, and one of the greatest plagues of modern times. It was infinitely better for the interests of religion and literature when books had fair play, and were left to the unbiassed suffrages of the public. As it is, we are now doomed to receive our first impression and opinion of books from some of the wickedest, and others of the stupidest of men; men, some of whom have not sense to write on any subject, nor others honesty to read what they pretend to criticise, yet sit in judgment upon all performances, and issue their insolent and foolish oracles to the public."—Robert Hall's *Letters to Ivimey*. Works, Vol. V. p. 522.

words and actions are directed by a principle of depraved self-interest, and a desire to make themselves acceptable to a patron and the public, he viewed with a scorn which he took no pains to conceal. Satisfied with his own moderate competency, the titles, honours, and riches of the world had no charms for him, although he might have advanced to the highest rank which the service of his profession could bestow. In the whole course of his career, his pure and manly mind never once stooped to any thing which does 'not become a man.'

It is not necessary, if it were possible, to record the various instances of his private unostentatious generosity. But the place which money held in his esteem was manifested on one or two striking occasions. A characteristic anecdote is mentioned by the writer in the United Service Journal: 'It is little more than three years since he called upon us one morning, having just discovered that upwards of £2000, obtained from him under false pretences, and which he had advanced under the idea of benefiting the son of an old friend, were fraudulently involved in an insolvency.' While relating the way in which he had been deceived, he suddenly exclaimed, "But it is not the money I care so much about, as that it gives another proof that we cannot trust one another!"' With similar feelings he contemplated another more serious affair. Some wily minions had taken advantage of the weakness and peculiarities of an aged relative, and under circumstances of

a peculiarly grievous nature, during the time of his last severe bodily sufferings, a very large family property passed away from his wife and daughter-in-law, whom he tenderly loved. His spirit, which in the degradation of human nature for a moment felt itself degraded, could not brook the wrong, but he exclaimed, viewing his relatives with warm affection, 'Thank God, they will have enough, and what need they more?'—while a smile of grateful satisfaction passed over his countenance, a beam from the light within, which spoke of his inwardly committing them to the care of a good and bountiful Providence. 'It was not so much that he knew not the worth of what the world has to give, as that he prized at a higher rate the freedom and tranquillity of mind which it cannot give. It was not in ignorance, so much as with a good-humoured contempt of the proffered rewards, that he let the stream upon which so many venture with eager competition pass by him without unmooring his own little bark from the quiet harbour of his contentment.'*

Among the last subjects of Captain Heywood's reflections was the question, 'Whether the profession of arms is consistent with the principles and belief of Christianity?' He was engaged in reading a MS. controversy on the question, occasioned by Captain Thrush's Letter to the King, wherein that

* See the beautiful Sketch of the Rev. P. Houghton, prefixed to his Sermons, by the Rev. J. G. Robberds, of Manchester.

officer explains his reasons for resigning his commission. It was a subject peculiarly fitted to interest his mind; and in conjunction with it, may be remembered the resolution expressed to Lord Melville, not to quit his retirement except his services were needed in time of war. This resolution, no doubt, had its root in the deep impressions of his youth, when his innocent mind took shelter in high and honourable feelings of devotion to his country and profession, from the suspicions of guilt and the unmerited difficulties in which he was involved. The writer does not recollect hearing Captain Heywood formally express the conclusion to which his mind arrived upon the subject; but he certainly felt that war was an evil, for the most part originating in maxims of policy, and modes of government, based on any but Christian principles—an evil which must diminish in frequency and disappear as the world becomes enlightened, and the true interests both of governors and the governed are understood. The long enjoyment of the blessings of peace had probably strengthened his sympathy with the sentiment,

'War is a game,
Which, were their subjects wise, kings would not play at.'

In 1827, Captain Heywood's health began to decline, but he had no particular complaint until November, 1828, when he had what he imagined to be inflammation of the lungs. Dr. J. Johnson attended him, and after three weeks' severe suffering

he gradually recovered, but never regained either strength or appetite; nor could he walk as he was wont to do. Yet he complained of nothing but a sensation in the left side, and also in the left side of his head. In June, 1829, he moved from Highgate into the Regent's Park, to be near all that he valued as amusement—the command of books—without the fatigue of walking far for them. Gradually and almost imperceptibly his strength declined, and when his family went to Southsea, July, 1830, he did not join them for a week, and in that short interval the change for the worse was to them most painfully perceptible. At Southsea he remained ten days—returned to London with his family—and in a week he set off in a steam vessel for Scotland, thinking a coasting voyage, if he could be sea-sick, might be of use to him. He went by various steam vessels from Port-Glasgow to Wales, thence to Dublin, to Plymouth, and last to Portsmouth, where Mrs. Heywood and her daughter were waiting for him. He arrived at Cowes at two o'clock in the morning, and was so anxious to rejoin his family that he immediately took an open boat, and arrived at Portsmouth at seven A. M. A violent North-east wind was blowing, and the cold was excessive. On immersion in a warm bath after breakfast he nearly fainted, and from that hour his decline was rapid. His valued partner had then the agony of hearing that his case was enlargement of the heart, and quite hopeless. Subsequently, his

breathing became difficult, and his lungs indicated disease. Still, however, he was on his feet, read much, and was at times very cheerful. In October, Mrs. Heywood was called from home on very urgent and painful business. Such was his anxiety, that for three weeks he insisted on Mrs. Heywood's remaining with her daughter, and wrote her a long letter each day. Alas! on the 19th, when Mrs. Heywood and her daughter returned, they found he had been seized with cholera not an hour before, which so reduced him, that he never rallied more than to be able to leave his room a few times after that. His breathing became so dreadfully painful, that he could not lie down, nor could he sit in one place ten minutes together, nor bear any thing opposite to him, and in this very dreadful state he remained three weeks, during which period sleep never weighed down his eyelids, not even for a moment. It would be only painful to continue the picture of the sick chamber and its protracted sufferings. In February, 1831, he had a paralytic stroke, which deprived him for a time of speech, but after that he rallied a little, and saw some of his old friends. They know 'what soul was his,'—his patience, resignation, and hope. On the 10th of that month he took his usual breakfast of bread and milk, and soon after fell into a peaceful sleep, from which his relatives expected he would awake refreshed. But suddenly they were summoned to his chamber, and arrived just in time to catch the last

sigh, such as infants breathe after crying. Thus, without a groan or struggle, in his 58th year, died one of the best of men. 'Would to God,' is the devout exclamation of one from whose faithful memorial of every change that affected him, this account of his illness is chiefly given, 'all men had his high sense of right, his strict conscientiousness, and his feeling for the distresses of his fellow-creatures!'

The reader, after this delineation of Captain Heywood's mind, may possibly entertain a wish to know something of its outward form. It is in the Author's power to gratify this wish only so far as a few words admit. His figure was well-proportioned, and rather above the middle size. It bore a very close correspondence to his character. His features were regular and good; and his whole countenance expressive of a calm, serious, observant, and reflecting mind, but mild and pleasing. In conversation it was lighted up with cheerful and delightful vivacity. There was an unaffected dignity about him; in short, every thing in his appearance to bespeak the being of a superior order.

A very interesting and striking resemblance may be traced between the character of Agricola, drawn by the master-hand of Tacitus, and that of the subject of this Memoir. There is such a singular appropriateness in some of the expressions of that author, particularly in connexion with the last-mentioned subject, that it would seem injustice to exclude them from these pages:

Quod si habitum quoque ejus posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit, nihil metûs in vultu, gratiâ oris supererat, bonum virum facilè crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem quanquam medio in spatio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum ævum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quæ in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat; et consularibus ac triumphalibus ornamentis prædito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? opibus nimiis non gaudebat; speciosæ contigerant: filiâ atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus, incolumi dignitate, florente famâ, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse.

'Si quis piorum manibus locus; si ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnæ animæ: placidè quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio, et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri, neque plangi fas est: admiratione te potiùs, temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, *similitudine decoremus*. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiæ quoque uxorique præceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, famamque ac figuram animi magis, quam corporis, complectantur: non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quæ marmore, aut ære finguntur: sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultûs imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis æterna: quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricolâ amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet, mansurumque est in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum famâ rerum.'*

* 'Posterity may wish to form an idea of his person. His figure was rather proper and becoming than majestic. In his countenance there was nothing to inspire dread: but his looks were extremely

gracious and engaging. You would readily have believed him a good man, and willingly a great one. And, indeed, although he was snatched away in the midst of a vigorous age, yet if his life be measured by his glory, it was a period of the greatest extent. For after the full enjoyment of all that is truly good, which is found in virtuous pursuits alone, decorated with consular and triumphal ornaments, what more could fortune contribute to his elevation? Immoderate wealth did not fall to his share, yet he possessed a decent affluence. His wife and daughter surviving, his dignity unimpaired, his reputation flourishing, and his kindred and friends yet in safety, it may even be thought an additional felicity that he was thus withdrawn from impending evils.

'If there be any habitation for the shades of the virtuous; if, as philosophers suppose, exalted souls do not perish with the body; may you repose in peace, and call us, your household, from vain regret and feminine lamentations, to the contemplation of your virtues, which allow no place for mourning or complaining; let us rather adorn your memory by our admiration, by our short-lived praises, and, if our natures will permit, by an imitation of your character. This is truly to honour the dead; this is the piety of every near relation. I would also recommend it to the wife and daughter of this great man, to shew their veneration of a husband's and a father's memory by revolving his actions and words in their breasts, and endeavouring to retain an idea of the form and features of his mind rather than of his person. Not that I would reject those resemblances of the human figure which are engraven in brass or marble; but as their originals are frail and perishable, so likewise are they; while the form of the mind is eternal, and not to be retained or expressed by any foreign matter or the artist's skill, but by the manners of the survivors. Whatever in Agricola was the object of our love, of our admiration, remains, and will remain in the minds of men, transmitted in the records of fame, through an eternity of years.'—Dr. AIKIN'S *Translation.*

LIST OF CHARTS.

THE following list of Charts, constructed by the late Captain P. Heywood, of the Royal Navy, has been kindly furnished to the Author by Mr. Horsburgh. It appears to be a proper accompaniment to this volume.

1. A Chart of Rio de la Plata, with complete Sailing Directions for that river. The latter were published by the Committee of Lloyd's; and are also inserted in Horsburgh's India Directory. The Chart has not been engraved.

2. A large Chart, in two sheets, of South Africa and the Madagascar Seas from the Cape of Good Hope to the Equator. Published by James Horsburgh.

3. A Chart of the Malabar Coast from Goa to Cape Comorin. Published by the late Mr. Dalrymple, Hydrographer to the Admiralty.

4. A Plan of Mergee River, on the Malabar Coast. Published by the late Mr. Dalrymple, Hydrographer to the Admiralty.

5. A Chart of the South and East Coast of Ceylon from Colombo, round to Point Pedro, the N.E. point. Published at the Hydrographical Office, Admiralty.

6. A Survey made by himself, under the authority of Admiral Rainier, of Point Pedro Shoal, at the N.E. extremity of Ceylon, and from thence along the Coast of Coromandel to Karical. Published by Mr. Dalrymple.

7. A Chart of the Bay of Bengal. Not engraved.

8. A Chart of the Coasts embracing the Gulf of Martaban. Not engraved.

9. A Survey of the Typa of Macao (Canton River). Published in 1826, by R. Laurie.

10. Track Chart among the Philippine Islands and Bashees. Not published.

11. A Chart of the Straits of Basseelan. Published by Mr. Dalrymple.

12. A Plan of Pollock Bay, Mindanao. Published by Mr. Dalrymple.

13. A Chart of the Straits and Islands near the West end of Timor. Not engraved.

14. A Chart of the Banda Sea, and dangers between Timor and New Holland, the latter explored by Captain Heywood. Not published.

15. A Chart of Sangir and Togalando Passages, North of Celebes. Published by Mr. Dalrymple.

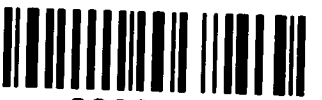
Exclusive of the above, Captain Heywood delineated some other plans of shoals, and anchoring places, of which no copy is in my possession. But the positions or geographical situations of many places and dangers, throughout the Eastern seas, were furnished to me by my late much-esteemed friend Captain Heywood, which, together with his valuable observations made in navigating those seas, have essentially contributed to render my Sailing Directory for the Indian navigation much more perfect than it would otherwise have been.

JAMES HORSBURGH.

G. SMALLFIELD, PRINTER, HACKNEY.

ERRATA.

Page 211 and elsewhere,	*for* Asavedo,	*read* Açevedo.
220	Ensinada	Ensenada.
230 and elsewhere,	Chili	Chile.
241	Puercedo	Puerreydon.
244 and elsewhere,	St. Anselmo	San Anselmo.
253	Peuco	Penco.
262	Mareno	Moreno.
263 and elsewhere,	Savratea	Sarratea.
—	Pucyerridan	Puerreydon.
— and elsewhere,	Pena	Peña.
—	Resquardo	Resguardo.
265 and elsewhere,	Sarrea	Larrea.
—	Linius	Liniers.
—	Abzaga	Alzaga.
—	Morena	Moreno.
267	Belgiano	Belgrano.
—	Tucaman	Tucuman.
268	Capillo	Capilla.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